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University — Université: UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

Degree for which thesis was presented — Grade pour lequel cette thèse fut présentée: DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Year this degree conferred — Année d'obtention de ce grade: 1980

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AN ANALYSIS OF THE CONGRUENCY BETWEEN A MODEL OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND MAX WEBER'S MODEL OF BUREAUCRACY

by

©

DEREK JOHN ALLISON

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

EDMONTON, ALBERTA
SPRING, 1980

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled "An analysis of the congruency between a model of public schools and Max Weber's model of bureaucracy," submitted by Derek John Allison, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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ABSTRACT

This study attempts to determine the degree of similarity between Max Weber's model of bureaucracy and an independently developed model of public schools. Weber's ideally typical model is taken from the Henderson and Parsons translation of *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* and the model of public schools, which is also presented in the format of an ideal-type, is developed by contrasting public and other types of school. The analysis of congruency between the models is conducted with reference to the characteristic features of organizations commonly identified in the literature.

Although there would appear to be a relatively high degree of similarity between the models with regard to the type of environments in which they are located, and the manner in which goals are specified and products defined, agreement was not found in the characteristic manner in which authority is exercised, work is done or relationships are structured in bureaucracies and public schools. Whereas the system of order and the exercise of authority in bureaucracies is portrayed by Weber as being based on principles of intellectual rationality codified in a formally legislated or mutually agreed manner, other kinds of authority, including Weber's traditional and charismatic types, would appear to be important in public schools. Similarly the structure of public schools would seem to be more 'cellular' than hierarchical and the core technology of classroom teaching would appear to be based on experiential rather than intellectually rational knowledge. However, the structure, technology and systems of order evident in the school systems and statewide schooling structures within which public schools are embedded would seem to be much more congruent to the bureaucratic model.

Major conclusions of the study are that Weber's model of bureaucracy would not appear to provide a valid guide for the conceptualization of public schools. Nonetheless, Weber's approach to organizational analysis was found to offer much insight into the nature of organizations in general and schools in particular. Several aspects of public schools were also found to be reasonably congruent to Weber's models of traditional and charismatic organizations and these could hold promise in further attempts to accurately model the organizational nature of public schools.

The study concludes by outlining a number of directions for future research and theory development in this area.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Canada Council provided the author with financial assistance which is gratefully acknowledged.

Many other individuals provided encouragement, assistance and support of various kinds. Particular thanks are owed to Gene Ratsoy and Erwin Miklos for advice and encouragement, to Bill Nediger and Bernard Shapiro for their faith and support and to Bill Adams, without whose perspicacity this study would not have been begun.

A simple acknowledgement cannot discharge the debt owed to Patsy Allison, who not only typed and corrected this manuscript and the many others which preceded it, but accepted the necessary sacrifices and impositions nobly while providing unflagging support. The forbearance and tolerance of Carac and Kaywyn Allison represent a similar debt to be repaid in future times.

Finally, thanks must be rendered to the shade of Max Weber, and his indulgence craved for what follows.

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Chapter One

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

> The fact that the school is a complex organization ... renders some of its problems much like those of a military unit, industrial organization or a government agency.
>
> Robert Owens

> Most attempts to construct (theories of organizations) have tended to take both the definition of organization to be used and the theoretical perspective as non-problematic.
>
> David Silverman [1]

This is a dissertation on the bureaucratic nature of public schools. Max Weber's (1947) writings are used as the major referent for the construct of bureaucratic organization, and an ideal-type model is used to conceptualize public schools. Insight into public schools is sought through juxtaposing these two constructs. The first section of this introduction sketches the major aspects of the current literature that prompted the study, and provides an introduction to the research problem. This is followed by an exposition of the conceptual framework and research design adopted.

PROLEGOMENON

Three concerns prompted this study: the first relates to the established manner of seeking insight into schools in the discipline of educational administration; the second to the fashion in which Weber's notes on bureaucracy are commonly utilized in the literature. The final concern stems from what has been identified as a crisis of confidence in the established disciplinary paradigm.

---

[1] Sources for all chapter epigraphs are given in the reference section.

Understanding Schools

The logic-in-use in the discipline of educational administration socializes scholars and students into viewing schools as organizations. Administration is viewed primarily as a process which occurs within, and is central to, the establishment and working of these social systems. Hence, a knowledge of the nature of organizations is taken as an essential element in the training of administrators and in the improvement of administrative action. In Greenfield's (1974:1) words, the discipline "has leaned heavily on the belief that a general science of organizations has provided the needed theoretical underpinnings." However, one of the more conspicuous features of the literature associated with the study of organizations is the lack of a general theory (Champion, 1975; Mouzelis, 1968; Silverman, 1970). Inquiry rests on a set of organizational models, "middle-range" theories and an almost implicit recognition of a set of features taken to be characteristic of all organizations.

Most surveys of the literature that attempt to catalogue the organizational models available do not agree with one another. Some (Perrow, 1972) concentrate on identifying a few particular emphases by compounding models that are identified as discrete constructs by other surveyists (Rice and Bishoprick, 1971; Champion, 1975; Tosi, 1975). One exception to this is the general recognition accorded to the systems and bureaucratic models. These appear as the most widely employed conceptualizations of organizations, so much so that the terms "bureaucracy" and "open system" are occasionally used as synonyms for "organization." Different surveyists define bureaucracy in different ways and it is possible to identify sets of both empirically and conceptually derived models (Hall, 1972:66-72). Nonetheless, it is quite evident that Weber's account of bureaucracy has the status of an exemplar that has exerted considerable influence on subsequent theorists (Banks, 1976:191; Hodgkinson, 1978:29). Although the concept of organizations finds wide usage in the study of educational administration, there has been a lack of sustained investigation into schools as organizations (Gross, 1956:64; Bidwell, 1965:972; Banks, 1968:13; 1976:190; Hoyle, 1965; 1969; 1973; Davis, 1973; Erickson, 1975). What appears to have happened is that theorists and researchers have concentrated on the generalized construct of organizations rather than on seeking to understand the nature of schools *per se*. Deductive and hypothetical reasoning has proceeded *from* models of organizations *to* schools. One consequence of this is that the present disciplinary literature is bereft of a recognized model or theory of schools as a particular form of social phenomenon. Thus, considerations of the organizational nature of schools have relied heavily on two dominant models: bureaucracy and systems theory (Griffiths, 1977:1). It is a rare text in educational administration that does not devote space to a treatment of schools through these models, the common approach being in accord with the emphasis noted above: the properties of a bureaucracy and/or an open system are outlined and then represented as describing the organizational nature of schools (Owens, 1970; Morphet, Johns and Reller, 1974; Gue, 1977; Hanson, 1979).

The notion that schools can be conceptualized as organizations is accepted in this study, but the assumption that any generalized model of organizations can be taken as representing public schools is seen as demanding critical appraisal. Given that the bureaucratic model has found particularly widespread use and that Weber's writings on this form of organization have exerted considerable influence, then the question pursued in this study is whether this model can accommodate the particular organizational nature of schools. The position taken is that such justification can only be legitimately established through a direct consideration of the nature of schools themselves, and the ability of Weber's model to accommodate this. The point is similar to that made by Silverman (1970:190): to date, the definition and nature of schools has been taken as non-problematic. But, unless it can be demonstrated that any particular model of organizations has direct relevance to the organizational character of schools, then the use of such models in conceptual and empirical inquiry remains open to question.

The Weberian Model

The prominence of Weber's ideal-type model of bureaucracy in the study of organizations has been alluded to, as has its widespread use in the textual and research literature. Katz (1964:431) has offered an extreme, but not unjustified statement of this impact by observing that "It is probably fair to say that recent sociological theories of complex organizations are a series of footnotes to Weber" and Hoyle (1976:5) has recently voiced an almost exactly similar opinion. However, there is evidence in the literature that Weber's writings may not have received the detailed attention they would appear to demand. One indication of this is a tendency for some surveyists to present Weber's model as part of the "classical" literature (Etzioni, 1964; Rice and Bishoprick, 1971; Hanson, 1979). This implies that the model is outmoded and its relevance supplanted by more modern conceptualizations. Another is the reliance that is commonly placed on abbreviated reconstructions of Weber's original reformulation, such as those offered by Blau (1965), Hall (1963), Presthus (1962) and Merton (1957). Owens (1970) for example, employs Presthus' (1962) reconstruction and Hanson (1979) rests his analysis on Merton's (1957) formulation. This reliance on secondary sources would not be objectionable if they were constantly identified as modern interpretations, but this is frequently not the case, there being a distinct tendency to present these reflections of Weber's writings as constituting the "Weberian model."

This defines the second concern addressed in this study: given the centrality of Weber's account of bureaucracy in the organizational analysis of schools, it would seem desirable that a detailed analysis of the bureaucratic nature of schools should take much fuller account of this model than would appear to have been the case to date.

The Paradigm Crisis

The established paradigm in educational administration has been roughly outlined above. It is grounded in what is primarily a structural-functionalist approach to understanding social reality, rests heavily on the pursuit and enshrinement of "theory" and is bolstered by research techniques that have tended to rely on the testing of hypotheses through the statistical analysis of survey data. The major knowledge-in-use rests heavily on many theories, models and constructs, which have been adapted from the broader fields of organizational, administrative and sociological study. Major constituent elements are recognized by Griffiths (1977:1) as "the Getzels-Guba social systems model, role theory, decision theory, bureaucracy and systems theory." Over the past half decade, the validity of this approach has been the subject of extensive debate (Greenfield, 1974; 1975; Hills, 1974; Griffiths, 1975; 1977; Crane and Walker, 1976; Hodgkinson, 1978; Deblois, 1978). This has led not to an abandonment of the established paradigm, but to a more open approach towards knowledge seeking and validation and would appear to be encouraging a period of review, appraisal and disciplinary introspection (Culbertson, 1978; Halpin and Hayes, 1977). Two aspects of the established paradigm that have come under review are the established conceptions of bureaucracy (Griffiths, 1977:7-8) and the lack of detailed attention paid to the organizational nature of schools (Erickson,1975; Kelsey, 1976). Hence not only does this appear to be a suitable time for a study based on the concerns outlined above, it would also seem that a reappraisal of the relevance of the Weberian model in seeking insight into schools is necessary. This is so because there is a possibility that should a paradigm shift occur in the discipline, then the extant set of assumptions and knowledge will likely become fossilized in their present form. The tenor of present opinion is reflected by Griffiths' (1977:7) observation to the effect that "the concept of a single bureaucratic type is no longer useful, since bureaucracy takes different forms in different settings." Little disputation of this is possible, but Griffiths' observation is based on the recognition of various statistically based models of bureaucracy which have their heritage in Weber's original writings. Furthermore, the idea of contingent types of bureaucracy once more brings the nature of particular organizations to the fore. Nonetheless, the direction of the recent speculative literature leads away from the Weberian model. That this should happen without a direct in-depth attempt to relate Weber's thoughts on bureaucracy to schools would seem unfortunate.

Summary

This study gains its impetus, justification and significance from the lack of direct attention paid to the organizational nature of schools and the general reliance on their description and analysis through abbreviated reconstructions of Weber's model of bureaucracy. An attempt to examine detailed conceptualizations of both of these constructs is, given the present paradigmatic uncertainty in the discipline, seen as both timely and appropriate.

THE PROBLEM

This section presents a formal statement of the research problem formulated to aid in dealing with the major concerns outlined above. The formal statement is augmented and delimitations and major assumptions made in the immediately following outline of the conceptual framework adopted for the study. Sub-problems and the approach taken to resolve these are presented in the subsequent account of the research design.

The Problem

> To critically discuss the congruency between a model of the organizational nature of public schools and Max Weber's writings on bureaucratic forms of organization.

THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Delimitations

Three immediate delimitations of the extent of the study are implied in the problem as stated. These are as follows.

1. The study is delimited to an analysis of the bureaucratic nature of a model of public schools. Such schools are understood as being those that are publicly funded, child-enrolling schools, governed by bodies representative of the residents in the areas served.

2. The study is also delimited to an analysis of the nature of the bureaucratic form of organization as this is outlined in the writings of Max Weber.

3. The study is also delimited to a conceptual analysis of the congruency between the model of public schools and the model of Weberian bureaucracy.

The import of the last delimitation stated above and a number of methodological implications may be understood through an outline of the epistemology underlying the study. This is adapted from Kenneth Boulding's (1966) consideration of valid knowledge production in the social sciences as given in his Brown and Haley lectures.

An Approach to Knowledge

Boulding (1966:5-77) maintains that "knowledge in the broad sense of information structures and improbable arrangements of things" may be of three general types: folk, literary and scientific. Folk knowledge is that produced and accumulated in the "ordinary business of life." Literary knowledge is that which is recorded in some form and scientific knowledge is that which is produced through careful and refined observation and testing. None of these three types of knowledge is seen as inherently superior to either of the others, each embodying certain advantages and limitations and each being suited to a particular purpose.

Literary knowledge has the advantageous properties of wide communicability and dissemination which allow for extension across time and cultures and for accumulation. Its major fault is what Boulding (1966:11) terms "authoritative superstition", that is, the notorious authority of the written word which often seems to be compounded in the case of literary knowledge of ancient lineage. If any knowledge recorded in some decipherable form is literary knowledge, then both folk-literary and scientific-literary knowledge may be distinguished, the difference between these two forms resting on the actual process used to generate the knowledge recorded.

Knowledge production. Folk and scientific knowledge are presented as being generated through different but similar processes. Common to both is the initial formulation of an image and the subsequent testing of this image against whatever it purports to represent.

Images are products of human imagination and can exist fully only in the minds of individuals. In Boulding's scheme, images are the fundamental stuff of knowledge and are presumably formed through the organization of percepts and the creativity of the self-conscious mind. In literate societies, then, individual comprehension of literary knowledge will also influence image formation. Once formed, an image is considered to provide understanding and may be used to guide action. However, an image may be valid or invalid. Valid images constitute "truth" and validity is established by testing the image in some fashion. If an image proves to be inadequate, then it may be abandoned or "mutated" to more closely approximate reality.

In the case of scientific knowledge, two additional refinements are added to the basic image formation - congruency testing process. In the first place, the original image is considered unsuitable for careful validation, thus it is operationalized by being cast into the form of a model. Boulding (1966:12) suggests that such models allow for "mathematical and logical inference" which can provide precise predictions of future states. In this usage, the term model is synonymous with "theory" in that it is a refined conceptualization from which hypotheses may be derived by logical or mathematical deduction. However, MacIver and Holdaway (1966) outline many various kinds of models and the distinction between models and theories is one often made in the literature. Thus, in the adaptation of Boudling's epistemology used here, models which are not theories, that is to say models which are not developed to a stage where hypotheses may be developed, are also considered to form part of the scientific knowledge production process. The essential point is that whereas folk images may remain in non-developed form in the minds of individuals, images that are developed in the pursuit of scientific knowledge are cast into some relatively unambiguous communicable form. This may be a diagram, a written account, a mathematical statement, a computer program or some other form of literary knowledge. In the production of scientific knowledge, it is models or inferences from models that are tested.

The second difference between folk and scientific knowledge production lies in the method of testing congruency. Folk images are tested through direct experience. Scientific models are tested through an indirect medium which normally requires the development of specialized instrumentation, and which may require the creation of an artificially simplified system in which the influence of extraneous variables can be removed or controlled. Instrumentation need not take the form of hardware. Questionnaires, check lists, observation schedules, taxonomies and statistical procedures can all be considered as instances of scientific instrumentation. Such things perform similar functions to telescopes, microscopes and cyclotrons in that they augment human perception and allow for specialized data collection and measurement.

An Overview

Boulding's view of producing valid scientific knowledge bears a similarity to that advanced by Karl Popper (1972a; 1972b). Popper is associated with an epistemology in which the accumulation of valid knowledge is enhanced by seeking to frame hypotheses of such precision that they can, through suitable measurement, be refuted and thus error eliminated. Popper (1972a:121) offers a formulation of the principle:

$$P_1 \rightarrow TS \rightarrow EE \rightarrow P_2$$

where P_1 is the initial problem, TS the tentative solutions, EE the detected error that is then eliminated to produce P_2, the revised or mutated model. This is not a single cycle process, and in a later formulation, Popper (1972b:243) allows for the emergence of TS_1, TS_2, ... TS_n, and, of course, P_1, P_2, ... P_n states.

The views of Popper and Boulding can be melded as shown in Figure 1:1. This figure shows that it is models, inferences from or selected facets of model, that are tested in the development of scientific knowledge. However, Figure 1:1 presents a straightforward representation of the process and considerable room for variant procedures must be imagined to exist.

Images and Models of Schools

Educational administrators concerned with policy and decision making will presumably be influenced by their general knowledge of schools and their understanding of each particular situation. In accordance with the conceptual framework adopted here, administrators

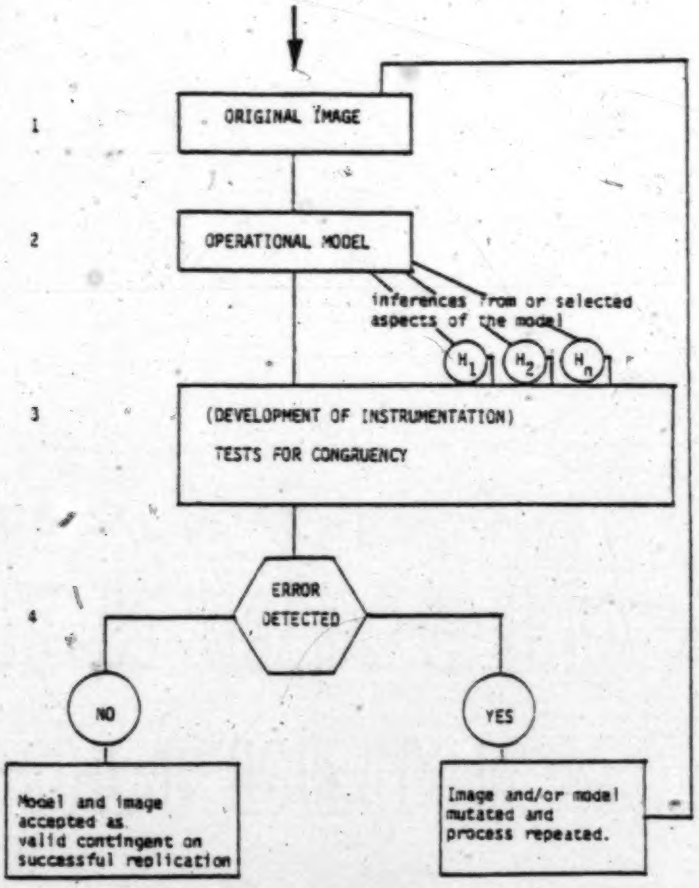

1
ORIGINAL IMAGE
2
OPERATIONAL MODEL
inferences from or selected aspects of the model
H_1
H_2
H_n
3
(DEVELOPMENT OF INSTRUMENTATION)
TESTS FOR CONGRUENCY
4
ERROR DETECTED
NO
YES
Model and image accepted as valid contingent on successful replication
Image and/or model mutated and process repeated.

FIGURE 1:1

BOULDING-POPPERIAN SCHEME OF
SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION

will gain knowledge about schools as a result of general experience, reading in the literature or participation in the development of scientific models. Knowledge gained from decoding literary knowledge may have had its original genesis through either a folk or a scientific process, but, regardless of its original means of production, literary knowledge about schools cannot form a basis for individual decisions or actions until it is perceived and interpreted by a reader. Hence, there is room for error, for misinterpretation, in the translation of literary knowledge into personal comprehension. This will be so even in the case of scientific models, especially if the model does not take the form of a rigidly specified theory, or if it is not presented in unambiguous terms such as could be provided by a mathematical expression. It is within this context that images and models of schools and of other social phenomena that are considered to have congruency to schools are considered to influence the actions, perceptions and predispositions of educational administrators.

Two situations are outlined in Figure 1:2. Case 1 is as described. An image of schools is cast into the form of a scientific model and appears in the literature. This may or may not be subject to congruency testing. Administrators are likely to apprehend the model and form their personal understandings and images. These may then exert some influence on the actions or perceptions of these administrators in their dealings with schools, especially if direct experience suggests that their understanding of the model is valid. In Case 2, schools are considered as organizations, and a model of organizations appears as an influence on administrator actions and perceptions concerning schools. In both of these cases, the asterisks mark a stage in the process in which the influence of graduate seminars and other educational experiences may affect the process.

As will be better demonstrated in the subsequent chapter, Case 1 in Figure 1:2 is not particularly evident in the literature. Although it must be assumed that administrators and analysts rely heavily on images of schools in conceptualizing their organizational nature, there is little evidence that an attempt has been made to

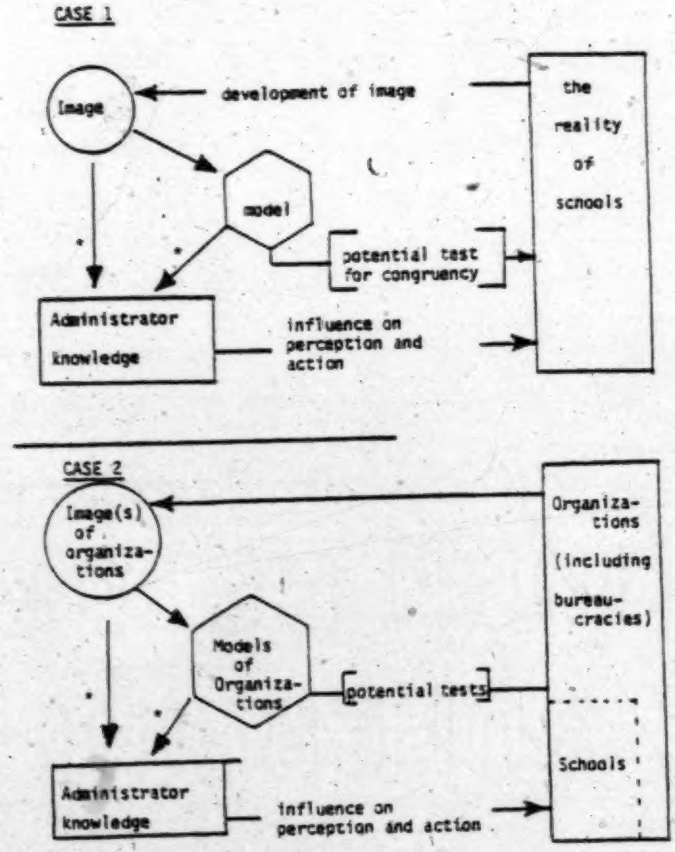

CASE 1
Image
development of image
the reality of schools
model
potential test for congruency
Administrator knowledge
influence on perception and action
CASE 2
Image(s) of organizations
Organizations (including bureaucracies)
Models of Organizations
potential tests
Schools
Administrator knowledge
influence on perception and action

FIGURE 1:2

TWO CASES OF CONCEPTUALIZATIONS OF PHENOMENA INFLUENCING ADMINISTRATOR ACTION

augment this essentially folk knowledge process through the production of operational models of schools.

Application to the Study

In Figure 1:3 bureaucracies and schools are shown as being similar phenomena, although the degree of similarity remains unknown, and both are assumed to be organizations. It is also assumed

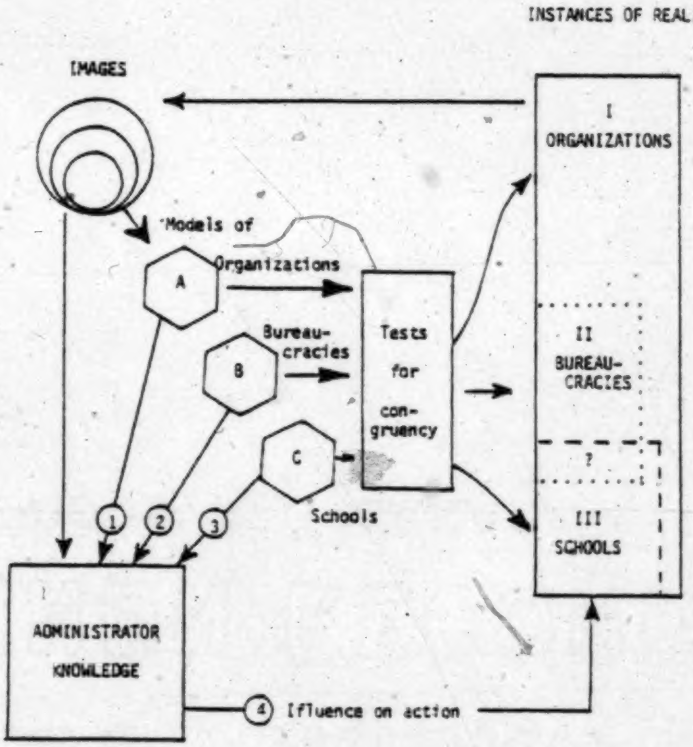

INSTANCES OF REALITY
IMAGES
I
ORGANIZATIONS
Models of
Organizations
A
Bureaucracies
B
Tests
for
congruency
II
BUREAUCRACIES
?
C
Schools
III
SCHOOLS
1
2
3
ADMINISTRATOR
KNOWLEDGE
4
Ifluence on action

FIGURE 1:3

RELATIONSHIPS AND ALTERNATIVES ASSOCIATED WITH FORMING AND TESTING CONCEPTUALIZATIONS OF ORGANIZATIONS, BUREAUCRACIES AND SCHOOLS

that valid knowledge of any one of these phenomena will have some relevance in understanding the other. Various models of each of these phenomena are shown as being developed from the images. Due to the assumption of transferability of knowledge, a test of a model of bureaucracy could involve a study of schools or *vice versa*. However, regardless of the degree of validity established, the models extant in the literature may become known by administrators (lines 1, 2 and 3), this process being augmented by educational programs and the content of text books, seminars and similar translation devices.

The situation of concern in this study is the relationship between schools (III in Figure 1:3) and models of bureaucracy (B in Figure 1:3). Models of bureaucracy are assumed to influence administrator actions and perceptions through lines 2 and 4 in the figure. There must be a concern, therefore, with regard to the congruency between B (models of bureaucracy) and III (schools). Any investigation of this congruency can be considered to have implications for practice as is shown by the manner in which models may influence administrative action. Implications for future model development and research may also be expected. The approach adopted to estimate the congruency between public schools and Weber's conceptualization of bureaucracy is outlined in Figure 1:4.

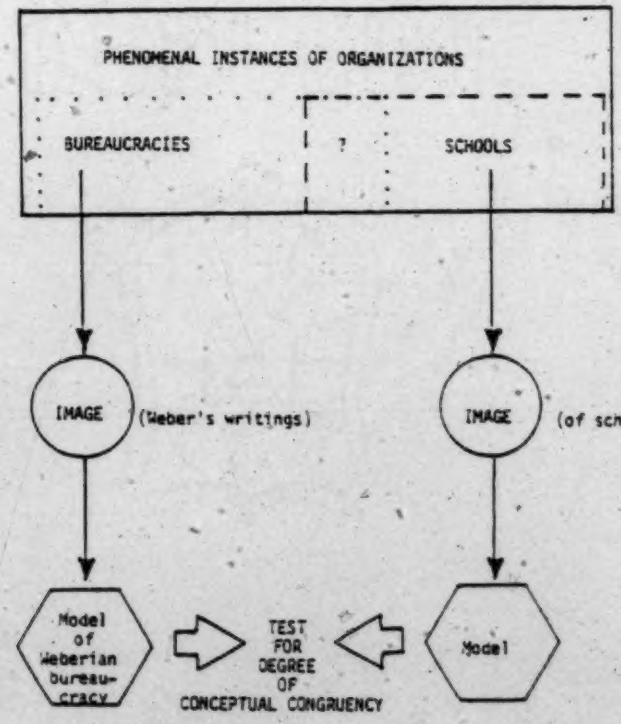

PHENOMENAL INSTANCES OF ORGANIZATIONS
BUREAUCRACIES
?
SCHOOLS
IMAGE
(Weber's writings)
IMAGE
(of schools)
Model of Weberian bureaucracy
TEST FOR DEGREE OF CONCEPTUAL CONGRUENCY
Model

FIGURE 1:4

THE APPROACH TO CONGRUENCY TESTING
ADOPTED IN THE STUDY

In this figure, the model of bureaucracy to be tested is a detailed reconstruction of Weber's conceptualization, while the model of schools is developed from an examination of the literature and the researcher's own folk knowledge. The figure illustrates that Weber's notes on bureaucracy, or, more correctly, this researcher's comprehension of his writings, provides the image of bureaucracy, while the model developed from this is what is to be subject to congruency testing.

Limitations

The major limitations of this study are implicit in the foregoing outline. They centre on the degree of accuracy attained in perceiving and modelling the two major referents: Weber's account of bureaucratic forms of organization and the organizational nature of public schools. If the validity of these two models is accepted, and the study must of necessity proceed on the assumption that they are adequately representative, then the third major limitations lies in the method of comparison. The research problem states that the study will attempt to present a "critical discussion" of the congruency between the two models. This is understood as conforming to the type of research identified by Eastwood (1975:81) as "logical-critical-conceptual" rather than the "empricial-statistical-descriptive" form that is stressed in the present construct paradigm of the discipline. However, a reliance on conceptual analysis does not mean that the analysis should remain unstructured, and the research design adopted seeks to provide a suitable guide to analysis.

RESEARCH DESIGN

Whereas a conceptual framework provides a medium for approaching research questions, it is the function of a research design to structure and systematize this activity. To facilitate the resolution of the research problem, this was broken down into four sub-problems and the research activities designed to aid in the resolution of each of these.

Sub-problems

The four sub-problems were:

1. To identify and survey the literature related to the organizational nature of schools and Weber's conceptualization of bureaucracy.
2. To develop and present a model of public schools in a suitable form for analysis.
3. To produce a reasonably detailed reconstruction of Weber's original model of bureaucracy.
4. To develop a taxonomy of analytical categories that could serve to aid in the identification of the organizational nature of public schools and as a guide in the critical comparison of the two models.

The Collection of Data

Coombes' (1964) model of data was used as a source for structuring the research activity. An interpretation of this model is sketched in Figure 1:5 overleaf.

As presented in this figure, the model provides for three phases of activity, with the knowledge considered and generated by enquiry falling into three increasingly refined states.

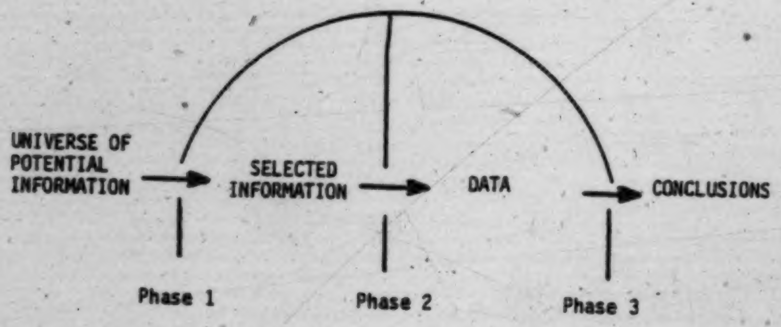


FIGURE 1:5

A REPRESENTATION OF COOMBE's
MODEL OF DATA

Source: Adapted from Coombes (1964:4)

Coombes (1964) notes that:

> .... the scientist enters each of these three phases in a creative way in the sense that alternatives are open to him and his decisions will determine in a significant way the results that will be obtained from analysis.

As a result of the decisions made at each of these phases, the nature of the knowledge being processed changes. Thus, phase 1 is concerned with what information within the identified universe is, and what is not, considered. It is a selection decision that yields a sample of the possible information. Phase 2 is an interpretative stage in which the researcher seeks to describe, label and relate the selected information through the conceptual framework. Coombes (1964:85) notes that this interpretation of the selected knowledge allows different kinds of data to be produced. In this usage, "data" is taken to mean knowledge from which information may be generated and conclusions drawn as a result of phase 3 activities, which seek to identify the emergent relationships within the data, through the use, where possible, of suitable analytical devices.

Defining the Literature Bases

Four bodies of literary knowledge were recognized as pertinent to the study: literary knowledge concerned with the nature of (1) organizations and (2) schools; (3) Max Weber's writings on bureaucracy and (4) the literature of educational administration.

The literature concerning organizations and schools.

While these bodies of literature could be recognized they could not be easily defined due to their unknown size and the degree to which they may be expected to overlap. Because of these unknowns, the study attempts to work from a sample of these total universes of applicable literary knowledge. These samples were attained by selecting an arbitrary number of what were assumed to be widely recognized survey or exemplar works containing literary knowledge about organizations and schools. Ten works for each of these areas of the literature were selected and these are listed in Appendix 1. These twenty works were used as entries into the broader literature bases of which they were samples. During the course of the study, these works, together with the sources cited by their authors, constituted the major bodies of literature considered.

The literature of educational administration.

The disciplinary literature was specified through the criterion that defined the literature of a discipline as the contents of the journals within that discipline. Hence, the literature of educational administration was defined as the contents and works referenced in *The Canadian Administrator*, *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *The Journal of Educational Administration*, and *Administrator's Notebook* prior to 1979.

Weber's conceptualization of bureaucracy. Weber's original account appears in the unfinished work *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* which was published posthumously in 1922. A complete translation of this work was not available until the Roth and Wittich edition was published in 1968, hence much of the previous work related to Weber's writings on bureaucracy is based on the partial translations by Gerth and Mills (1946) and Henderson and Parsons (1947), the most complete being the latter. Reference was made to all three translations in attempting to deal with the third sub-problem , but most reliance was placed on the Henderson and Parsons version. This was a deliberate choice made on the grounds of preserving continuity with other interpretative and critical works in which this translation is that most commonly used. Guidance was also taken from a number of commentaries on Weber and his treatment of bureaucracy. These included the (1) biographical works of Bendix (1960), and Honigsheim (1968); (2) the interpretative and critical works of Parsons (1947), Merton, Gray, Hockey and Selvin (1952), Blau (1956), Mouzelis (1967), Little (1969), Albrow (1970), Eldridge (1971), Eldridge and Crombie (1972) and Mommsen (1974); (3) the selections of translated passages compiled by Eldridge (1971) and Runciman and Matthews (1978) and (4) Jacques' (1976) recent extension of some of Weber's ideas in his *A General Theory of Bureaucracy*.

The Model of Public Schools

While Weber's conceptualization of bureaucracy is extant in the literature, and thus easily available for reconstruction, the model of public schools was developed expressly for the study. Thus, the researcher had the freedom to cast this model into any suitable format. The format selected was that of an "ideal-type". This was justified partly on the grounds that it allows for more direct comparison with Weber's own ideal-type model of bureaucracy, partly because it allows for aspects of Weber's own comparative methodology to be utilized, and partly because the ideally typical format seems highly appropriate in attempting to model phenomena as ubiquitous and varied as public schools. Weber (1947:103,90) explains that an ideal-type is "an analytical accentuation of certain elements of reality ... that is, a pure mental construct, the relationship of which to the empirical reality of the immediately given is problematical in every individual case." He (Weber, 1947:89) notes that ideal-types do not attempt to represent the "average or approximate" nature of a phenomenon, thus they are not "conceptual averages" such as might be obtained through statistically based enquiry. Neither are they based on a single empirical instance as a model derived from a case study would be. Thus, ideal-type models are abstractions from reality in which selected generic features are exaggerated to a logical extreme so as to make them clear and subject to subsequent analysis. It follows that these features appear in ideal-types in a manner which will rarely, if ever, be found in their empirical referents. These selected and exaggerated features are then related in logical fashion to present a coherent and recognizable image. Ideal-types are not intended to be exhaustive, nor are they meant to include all features of the subject, but they are intended to present a clear specification of features of interest. Their validity lies in whether or not the image presented appears congruent to the reality portrayed. These particular features of ideal-type models suit them well to accommodating phenomena that seem to vary greatly along a few empirical dimensions, as appears to be the case with schools. A researcher can concentrate on the features that do not appear to vary as greatly from instance to instance and in doing this is forced to abstract characteristics at a highly generalizable level. This is seen as a particulary advantageous feature in the context of this study.

However, it requires to be noted that the use of ideal-types has been severely criticised by such authorities as Parsons (1947:13, 89), Friedrich (1952) and Selznick (1943; 1948). Nevertheless, both Eldridge and Crombie (1974) and Mouzelis (1968) observe that most critics fail to take stock of and understand the particular nature of ideal-types and the uses for which Weber intended them.

Organizational Nature

The research problem directs that specific attention be paid to the organizational nature of public schools. This emphasis is based on the assumption that public schools constitute one *type* of organization while Weber's account of bureaucracy describes a particular *form* of organization: the intent of the study can thus be understood as to enquire into the degree that these two manifestations of a more general phenomenon are in accord. "Organizational nature" is thus a fundamental concept in this study, for it not only influences the development of the model of public schools but serves as the major basis for the analytical comparison of this model with that of the model of bureaucracy. This aspect of the major problem was recognized in the fourth sub-problem which is concerned with the development and application of a set of analytical categories that could guide the comparative analysis. This approach is based on Burns' (1967) account of the technique of comparative study.

Burns (1967:118) asserts that:

> The object of comparative study is to provide answers to the question "What is it?" - answers that are more comprehensive, more meaningful, and, eventually, more useful than those in common currency. The procedure of comparative study is to analyze the object of study ... into components and then to translate the question "What is it?" into two others: "What is it like?" and "What is it not like?" The reasoning process is essentially analogical.

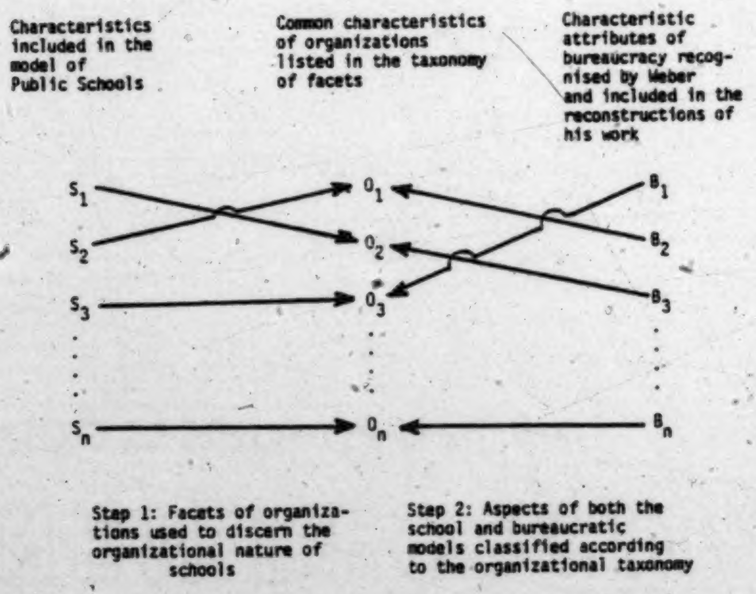
This is one way of viewing the present research problem which is primarily concerned with the question "Are public schools like Weber's conceptualization of bureaucracy?" Burns (1967:127) continues:

> The valid guides for comparative studies, it is suggested, are analytical rather than empirical or methodological. What is necessary is the composition of a system of categories by which research data, the analytical methods applied to the data, and findings can be identified; such a system has to be reasonably logical, but the criterion of adequacy (serviceability) is its comprehensiveness.

Within the conceptual framework adopted for this study, Burns' methodology requires that a suitably comprehensive system of categories which define the nature of organizations be developed and used to guide the analysis. This was taken to mean that what was required was a taxonomy of the characteristics of organizations that are generally recognized in the literature. Such a taxonomy of characteristic features is developed in a later chapter. In constructing the taxonomy, use was made of Burns' (1967:128) own criterion of adequacy in that the set of characteristics was assumed "to distinguish organizations from other institutions."

This taxonomy of the characteristic features of organizations was utilized in the study to aid in the recognition of the organizational nature of school and to guide the analysis. Figure 1:6 outlines its use in the analysis of congruency. In this figure, each characteristic is recognized as a single facet of organizational nature. Together these are used to sort and classify the features contained in the ideal-type model of public schools. These facets are then used as a "template" in classifying and juxtaposing the features specified in the bureaucratic model. The process is essentially one of "mapping" the features of one model onto those of the other through the interpretative medium of the taxonomy of organizational characteristics. This process of "congruency mapping" does not in itself determine the degree of congruence between the models, but it does allow for the component elements of each to be compared within a common frame of reference which then provides for detailed discussion.

Within the conceptual framework, the taxonomy of organizations has the status of an instrument that provides for systematic and controlled analysis. However, no predetermined criteria were established for judging the degree of agreement within each analytical


Characteristics included in the model of Public Schools
Common characteristics of organizations listed in the taxonomy of facets
Characteristic attributes of bureaucracy recognised by Weber and included in the reconstructions of his work
S1
S2
S3
Sn
O1
O2
O3
On
B1
B2
B3
Bn
Step 1: Facets of organizations used to discern the organizational nature of schools
Step 2: Aspects of both the school and bureaucratic models classified according to the organizational taxonomy

APPLICATION OF THE TAXONOMY OF ORGANIZATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS IN THE PROCESS OF CONGRUENCY MAPPING

FIGURE 1:6

category, beyond the recognition of congruence, dissonance or incongruence within categories. Nonetheless, this system of cardinal categories does provide for a degree of control that would not be possible if the models to be compared were simply placed side by side and their features commented upon. One additional advantage is that it allows for the identification of poorly detailed areas in the models and this in itself may be valuable information.

An Overview of the Design

Figure 1:7 relates Coombes' model to the study and serves as an outline of the overall research methodology. Phase 1 in this

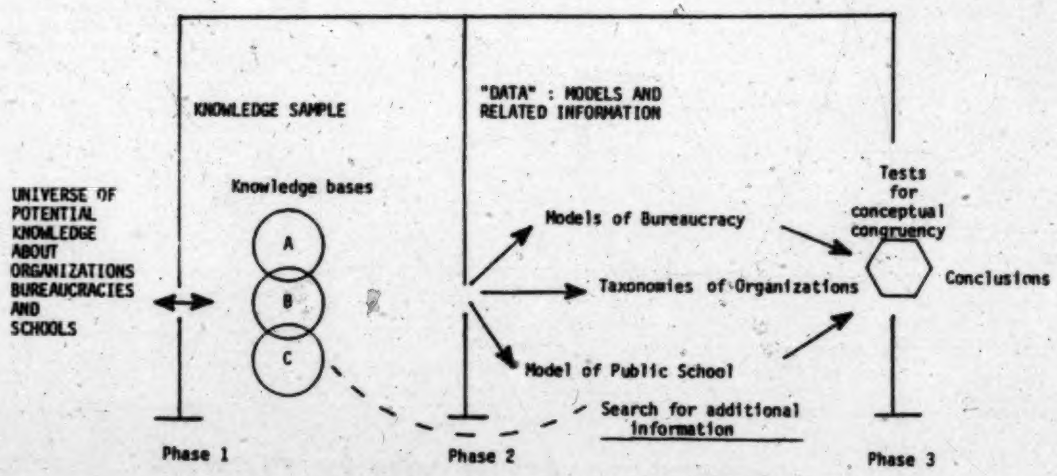

KNOWLEDGE SAMPLE
"DATA" : MODELS AND RELATED INFORMATION
UNIVERSE OF POTENTIAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT ORGANIZATIONS BUREAUCRACIES AND SCHOOLS
Knowledge bases
A
B
C
Models of Bureaucracy
Taxonomies of Organizations
Model of Public School
Search for additional information
Tests for conceptual congruency
Conclusions
Phase 1
Phase 2
Phase 3

FIGURE 1:7

APPLICATION OF COOMBE'S MODEL TO THE STUDY

figure is shown as producing the knowledge sample from which the data were collected. In this case, the literature bases as defined form the sample of literary knowledge. Phase 2 involves a consideration of these literature bases in which the required models of bureaucracy, organizational nature and schools are identified and developed. The process employed here was essentially that of library research. Source works were read, additional references located and considered and notes taken. This process was guided by the problem statement, and was "self-regulating" in that knowledge gained from previously consulted sources influenced the interpretation of those considered later. As a general rule, the contents of literature bases were reviewed independently, with base C (the literature of educational administration) serving as a reference to aid in selecting particularly pertinent data.

The output of Phase 2 was the required models of bureaucracy and schools and the taxonomy of organizations, together with a body of additional data not incorporated in the models, but pertinent to the problem. In Phase 3, the taxonomy of organizations was used as an analytical guide in the process of conceptual mapping outlined above.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE STUDY

The bulk of the remainder of the study falls into four major sections. The chapter immediately following this introduction provides a review of the related literature. The taxonomy of organizational facets is developed in a separate chapter, which is followed by the development of the models of public schools and bureaucracy respectively. Within the context of the research design, these chapters present the "data" that are considered in the succeeding chapters, which constitute the analytical section of the study.

The final chapter provides an overview, summarizes major conclusions, and draws a number of implications for research, study and practice.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

This introduction began with a short discursive essay which outlined the three major concerns that prompted this study. These may be summarized as (1) an apparent lack of focussed attention on the organizational nature of schools; (2) a tendency for the extant discussions and analysis of Max Weber's account of bureaucracy to build from abbreviated reconstructions of his original model; and (3) a possible paradigm shift in the discipline which could well lead to the abandonment of Weberian bureaucracy as a source of insight into schools. The subsequent phrasing of the major research problem directed attention towards the development and comparison of a model of public schools and Weberian bureaucracy that would compensate for the apparent weaknesses in the present literature and allow for the ability of the Weberian model to accommodate public schools to be more fully discussed.

The method and techniques to be employed in pursuing these objectives were then outlined in sections presenting the conceptual framework and research design adopted. The former of these rests on an adaptation of Boulding's (1966) outline of valid knowledge production. Emphasis was laid on the estimation of congruency between two different conceptualizations of assumedly similar phenomena. The research design was developed from a decomposition of the major research problem into four sub-problems. Coombes' model of data and Burns' treatise on comparative study were then used to develop suitable methodologies to treat these problems. Necessary assumptions, limitations, delimitations and definitions were made as appropriate in these two sections.

Chapter Two

A REVIEW OF THE PERTINENT LITERATURE

> ... there has been a considerable neglect of the school as an organization.
>
> Olive Banks

INTRODUCTION

The four bodies of literature that are particularly relevant to this study were identified in the previous chapter. In this review, no direct attention is paid to Weber's writings or to the characteristic features of schools identified in the broader literature. Specific aims are (1) to review the literature that considers schools as organizations; (2) to distinguish between several denotations of the term bureaucracy and demonstrate the influence that Weber's conceptualization has had on the literature; and (3) to review the literature relating to the study of schools as bureaucracies.

SCHOOLS AS ORGANIZATIONS

There does not appear to be a substantial literature treating the organizational nature of schools, as is indicated by Olive Banks' comment quoted above. Recent developments have not encouraged her (Banks, 1976:196) to modify this opinion: "the study of schools as organizations remains one of the least satisfactory aspects of the sociology of education." Most of the works discussed here provide conceptual analyses of schools or constitute surveys of possible approaches to analysis. The works are drawn from the literature of the sociology of education, organizational theory and educational administration.

Survey Works

Although there has been little authoritative analysis of the organizational properties of schools, there has been a steady stream of papers that consider the problems and possibilities associated with such a task. Bidwell's (1965; 1977) reviews fall into this category, as do those of Hoyle (1965; 1969; 1975). The original Bidwell survey formed one of the twenty eight chapters in the *Handbook of Organizations* edited by James March (1965). In this, Bidwell offers what he describes in the later review as a relatively closed socio-technical view of schools. This includes a consideration of the bureaucratic model and one of the few attempts to provide a definitive description of schools that is available in the literature. Two of Bidwell's conclusions are that schools exhibit a "structural looseness" and that they are better characterized as tending towards de-bureaucratization rather than bureaucratization. Despite Bidwell's attempt to concentrate on schools, the article evidences a tendency to shift focus from schools to school systems which tends to confuse the reader and confound the major conclusions. Bidwell's (1977) later review attempts to concentrate more on contextual and technological aspects of schools rather than repeating or updating the structural emphasis of the earlier paper. Much use is made of his "descriptive reconnaissance" (Bidwell and Kasarda, 1975) of school systems in Michigan in his attempts to describe and analyze the demographic and resource features of school environments, but little attempt is made to generalize the findings.

Hoyle's (1965; 1969; 1975) reviews are written from the perspective of the United Kingdom and are mainly concerned with the novel potential for insight afforded by the developing study of organizations. He (1965:109-110) identifies a number of problems as inherent in the study of schools as organizations, one of which is that of accurate definition, and another the selection of an appropriate level for analysis which he sees as involving a choice between the classroom, the principal's role, school systems or the broader social community. His second article (Hoyle, 1969:56) has a greater aura of certainty but again returns to the question noted above, observing that "... the quest for a general theory of administration which can be applied to educational organizations has not yet paid dividends." The third paper (Hoyle, 1975) is primarily a review of recent British research.

Other works that adopt a survey approach are those of Corwin (1974), Corwin and Edelfelt (1977), Lortie (1977), particular chapters in the longer surveys of the sociological literature provided by Musgrave (1965), Corwin (1965a), Hutcheon (1975), Banks (1969; 1976) and the article anthologies of Stubb (1975) and Pavalko (1976). For the most part, these contributions are not particularly remarkable. Reference is commonly made to the serviceability of the bureaucratic and systems models to guide conceptualization and a variety of research findings are marshalled to provide insight within these or other conceptual frames. Notice is not uncommonly taken of aspects of schools that are considered to militate against the full application of the Weberian exemplar, especially the assumed professional or semi-professional status of teachers. The organizational nature of schools themselves is, however, generally taken as non-problematic, greater attention being paid to the general social context within which schools exist as commonplace agencies of socialization and education.

Summary. On the whole, this body of literature takes consistent notice of the potential of bureaucratic constructs to provide for the conceptualization and analysis of schools. Reference has been previously made to Bidwell and Hoyle's recognition of this and the trend is maintained in the balance of this literature. Pavalko (1976:248), for instance, declares in his introduction to the articles selected to provide insight into the organizational nature of schools, that "our concern here is with schools as bureaucracies."

Conceptual Analyses

Pride of place in this literature must go to Willard Waller's (1961) *The Sociology of Teaching*, which was originally published in 1932. The bulk of this work deals with life in schools, and, due to the lack of an appropriate literature during the period in which the book was written, there is a lack of attention to the concepts and models of organization which are so much a part of the contemporary scene. Weber's work, it will be remembered, was not generally available in translation until after 1946. Nonetheless, Waller's book has a richness of insight that would delight any modern day phenomenologist, and the work remains a valuable reference.

The balance of the more recent conceptual analyses tend to adopt the much more familiar structural-functional approaches, in which bureaucracy features highly. Bennett (1974) and Musgrave (1968) both present small volumes analyzing the school as an organization, taking the educational system in the British Isles as their point of reference. In Musgrave's work, schools are presented as integral parts of the national system of education within which analysis proceeds from the goals of this system through various structural levels to the operation of classrooms. A more concise, intricate and generalizable analysis is provided by Elboim-Dror (1973), who identifies an extensive set of organizational characteristics of educational systems in general, and by the collection of articles by Hopper (1971) titled *Readings in the Theory of Educational Systems.* All of these works tend to present the broader perspective in which the particular nature of schools themselves becomes inevitably submerged.

The works of Katz (1964), Carlson (1964), Hasenfeld and English (1974), Dreeben (1968; 1970), Parsons (1975) and Weick (1976) provide a sharper focus. Katz (1964:928) takes as his purpose "the development of analytical devices for the study of whole schools as social systems" and his treatment is novel insofar as it foresakes the bureaucratic exemplar and seeks to conceptualize schools as being characterized by relative differences in the autonomy of members. Carlson (1964:263) takes a systems view and concentrates on the "relationship between an organization (the school) and its environment." His analysis develops a four-cell typology of organizations on the basis of the degree of client control over participation and organizational control over admission. Public schools fall into Type IV in the classification and are described as "domesticated" organizations in that the clients (pupils) have little or no control over their participation, while the school itself must accept them. This approach is carried further in the analytical discussion offered by Hasenfeld and English (1974) which strives to identify a class of organizations termed human service organizations. This type, which includes schools, is considered to be characterized by six attributes: (1) raw materials are human beings; (2) goal definitions are problematical and ambiguous; (3) the work process is indeterminant; (4) staff-client relationships are core activities; (5) reliance is placed on professional staff; and (6) reliable effectiveness measures are lacking. Inherent in the recognition of human service organizations is a suggestion that this type of organization is incongruent with the Weberian model of bureaucracy (Hasenfeld and English, 1975:1).

The work of Dreeben (1968; 1970) and Parsons (1975) is embedded in the latter's structural-functional theory of social action. Dreeben's (1968) earlier work is the most extensive (and controversial) application of the Parsonian perspective. He (Dreeben, 1968:8) begins by drawing sharp distinction between the structural nature of schools and the families from which their pupils initially come, and then he builds on this and other formal and inherent aspects of schools to extensively document the socialization function they perform in inculcating the Parsonian norms of independence, achievement, universalism and specificity. Parsons' (1975:216-237) major statement on schools is a functional analysis of elementary classrooms which augments Dreeben's arguments. Parsons (1975:220-221) identifies four "primary features" of such classrooms: initial equalization of pupils by age, social class and in some instances ability; "the imposition of a common set of tasks"; a clear distinction between the teacher and pupils; and a process of "relatively systematic evaluation" of student achievement. These features, argues Parsons, serve to make the classroom a major arena for competition between, and thus selection of, students and to inculcate the norms identified by Dreeben. In his more recent *The Nature of Teaching: Schools and the Work of Teachers,* Dreeben (1970) presents an analysis of schools which is more in accord with the taxonomy of organizational facets used here and within the broader literature. This analysis considers the environment, structure and technology of schools and has a freshness of perspective which aids insight. He (Dreeben, 1970:46) provides several valuable observations which relate to the specific nature of schools, including the following:

> ... the pyramidal bureaucratic model represents a gross distortion when applied to the *school*, despite appearances to the contrary. The crucial fact about schools is that they include two distinct categories of members who are affiliated with the organization in radically different ways. Principals ... and teachers all represent extensions of a bureaucratic hierarchy since all are employees of the system and obligated through employment contracts to carry out system-wide policy. Pupils, in contrast, are something akin to clients of the school or conscripted beneficiaries, to be more exact.

This distinction and the particular status of pupils is one that is accorded considerable significance in later pages of this study, for although the status of school pupils has received attention in the literature under review, a more general approach differs from Dreeben's view by treating pupils as raw materials. This approach is particularly evident in the conceptual analyses offered by Herriott and Hodgkins (1973:88-96) and Wheeler (1966) and is implicit in the economic production function analyses of schools (Burkhead, *et al.* 1967; Averch, *et al.* 1972; Sommers and Wolfe, 1974; Henderson, *et al.* 1976).

Corwin (1967) and Weick (1977) contribute guides for analysis. The Corwin article embodies much of the material included in the chapters of his earlier survey work (Corwin, 1965a) which employed a conceptualization of bureaucracy extensively, but it also advances "a list of the elementary properties of organizations" (Corwin, 1967:216). This taxonomy (Corwin, 1967:217) stresses aspects of coordination, authority, recruitment, commitment and goals and "characteristics of the boundary system." These major analytical categories and the sub-categories they subsume are established inductively by Corwin from the main body of his paper in which little explicit attention is paid to the Weberian model. The article by Weick (1977) is on a different order of analysis. His major argument concerns the analytical potential offered by the construct of "loose coupling" which is intended to "convey the image that coupled events are responsive *but* that each event also preserves its own identity" (Weick, 1977: 3). His suggestion has been favourably received in the discipline of educational administration, being identified by Griffiths (1977) as one of the more promising alternates to the established organizational models of bureaucracy and systems theory. It is, nonetheless, an exploratory article, and Weick (1977:16) acknowledges that many initial problems need attention before it may bear fruit, one of which is the development of inventories of the constituent elements in schools. In essence, Weick's recognition that the discipline presently lacks such an inventory points to the general lack of models of schools themselves.

A final work of note is Lortie's (1977) *Schoolteacher: A Sociological Study*. To a degree, this study inherits and extends many of the emphases initially established by Waller. Although primarily concerned with teacher sentiments and perceptions, Lortie offers many observations on the structural and process aspects of schools as well as an analysis of their historical development. He lays great stress on the importance of classrooms and the cellular structure that they impart to schools, attributing many of the characteristics of teacher role, such as uncertainty with regard to performance and teacher primacy in final goal setting, to the insularity that arises from this pattern.

In closing, passing reference needs to be made to two bodies of literature of peripheral interest. The first of these is the deschooling literature which has been well reviewed by Lister (1974). In general, this contains little of particular note, being primarily concerned with presenting general sociological and economic perspectives cast into the form of a critical expose. Its importance lies not so much in its content but in the way in which it reflects the widespread interest and concern about the nature of schools. The historical literature has more direct relevance. Tyack (1975) for example, has presented a discussion of the bureaucratic nature of the common schools in Oregon in the 1851-1913 period, and Gidney and Lawr (1979) have recently presented as similar analysis of the common school system in Upper Canada in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. Both of these works are valuable in that they illustrate the relevance of the bureaucratic model in the analysis of early systems of mass schooling.

Concluding Comment

Perhaps the major fault with the present literature is not the lack of attention paid to schools, but the limiting approaches adopted in analysis. "School" seems to be taken as an implicitly understood phenomenon, insight into which is frequently sought through well established models of organizations, with less attention being accorded to the particular nature of schools themselves.

THE BUREAUCRATIC FORM OF ORGANIZATION

Notions of Bureaucracy

While there can be little doubt that bureaucracy is the most fundamental image of contemporary organizations, it is also one of the more ambiguous and misunderstood terms in both the scholarly lexicon and the vernacular of modern man. Albrow (1970:84-105) lists seven distinct meanings in contemporary usage, and the word would seem to be employed by social scientists and pundits, politicians and newscasters with a seeming impartiality.

Four somewhat linealy pure denotations require attention at this time.

The original usage. As first coined, the term added to the typological pantheon denoting different forms of government, which included democracy, autocracy and aristocracy. Contemporary usage in this vein restricts the term to identifying government ministries and departments staffed by civil servants and charged with implementation and monitoring of public policy.

The pejorative usage. The commonplace usage of bureaucracy as denoting officious, bumbling, inefficiency wrapped in reams of "red tape" has a lineage almost as long as that referring to the government connection, and again the heritage is European. Its roots lie in the social commentaries of Bodin, Hobbes and Rousseau with their antipathy towards overly powerful quasi-independent state organizations and thus their strong antipathy to rule by bureaux. Nevertheless, the vaulting nationalism that fed the military, social and political "reforms" of Napoleon, Bismarck and Stalin spawned and nurtured rule by and through powerful government bureaux. Bureaucracies founded by Bonaparte and Bismarck are still functioning and testify to the implacable longevity of this form of organization, as well as providing the conceptual justification for the almost humourous incredulity and distrust that underlies the perjorative image. Balzac, in his 1836 novel *Les Employes* captures the essence of the matter:

> ... the state, or if you would like to have it so, *La Patrie*, has taken the place of the sovereign ... and thus Bureaucracy, the giant power wielded by pigmies, came into the world. (It is) organized ... under a constitutional government with a natural kindness for mediocrity, a predelicition for categorical

> statements, and reports, a government as fussy and meddlesome, in short, as a small shopkeeper's wife. (Albrow, 1970:18)

The European tradition of cynical criticism towards the organizational building block of the modern state, continued in the works of Kafka, Dostoevski, and more recently Solzhenitsyn. The almost tongue-in-cheek writings of Parkinson (1971), Kidner (1972) and Boren (1975) both document and decry this popular image. However, the bumbling and implacable officiousness denoted in the vernacular usage of the term has also prompted scholarly enquiry into the dysfunctions and "pathologies" of bureaucracy and bureaucrats (Gouldner, 1952; 1954; 1959; Merton, 1952; Crozier, 1964).

The Weberian usage. In addition to augmenting political analysis and piquing alienated citizenry, the developing phenomenon of bureaucracy soon attracted the consideration of social scientists, and especially those interested in organizational studies. Mosca (1939), Marx (1959) and Michels (1911) were all pioneers in the field but pride of place goes to Max Weber. He approached the study of bureaucracy within the context of his general interests in history, economics, social forms and the legitimation of social action. Mommsen (1974:2) notes that Weber was concerned with contributing to a "genuinely *universal* interpretation of Western civilization and of the "uniqueness (Eigenort) of its value systems as well as its patterns of human behavior." It is within this context that his famous ideal-type model of bureaucracy was developed and presented. Hence Weber was not particularly interested in the study of organizations *per se* and his account of bureaucracy as the particularly modern form of "officialdom" (Weber, 1947:332) constitutes but a fragment of total writings. That this is so is not immediately apparent in the contemporary literature of organizational studies. Nonetheless, this literature frequently identifies Weber's model as a particularly coherent and important statement on the nature of bureaucracies as a type of organization, and it is this usage that is recognized here.

The contemporary specialist usage. Recognition of Max Weber's conceptualization constitutes one particular usage of the term bureaucracy in the contemporary literature. The other major usage refers to a particular type of organizational structure. As explained by Hall (1972:67), this view rests in assuming that Weber's conceptualization provides

> ... the set of characteristics that, if present in an organization, would cause the organization to be characterized as a true bureaucracy. This formulation allows the analyst to determine the degree to which an organization is bureaucratized.

The emphasis in the contemporary specialist usage is not, therefore, on a particular form of organization, but on the quality of bureaucratization. This is commonly viewed as a multi-dimensional attribute with organizations evidencing independent variation along each dimension. Given that the appropriate dimensions are specified then it becomes possible to contemplate the measurement and construction of structural profiles for particular organizations or sets of organizations: "... with six dimensions and a ten point scale" comment Pugh *et al.* (1964:198) "there are theoretically a million possible profiles."

This conceptualization of bureaucracy as an empirically variable attribute of organizations has given rise to the construction and application of instruments to measure the bureaucratic structure of organizations by the Aston group (Pugh and Hickson, 1976), Blau and

Schoenherr (1971), Hage and Aiken (1967) and Hall (1963). Each of these research thrusts has led to similar exercises in the study of schools, which have provided a set of empirically based models of bureaucracy that are quite distinct from Weber's conceptual model. The activities of the Aston group, for example, have led to a three dimensional model of bureaucratic types of organization which range from "Full" bureaucracy through "Pre-work flow" bureaucracy to "Implcitly structured" bureaucracy (Pugh, Hickson and Hinings, 1969). The bulk of the related work based on schools has mainly followed Hall's (1963) methodology and produced a two dimensional model of school bureaucracy (Isherwood and Hoy, 1972) that is reviewed later in this chapter.

These models both reflect and represent the contemporary specialist usage of the term bureaucracy in the literature of both organizational theory and educational administration. To distinguish this usage in subsequent pages, it, and the associated models, will be referred to as Dimensional Bureaucracy.

The Influence of the Weberian Model

Although each of the four denotations of bureaucracy noted above find continuing usage in certain sections of the scholarly literature, the Weberian model has a particularly catholic influence. The literature of political science and social government, which pays attention to bureaucracy as the dominant type of governmental agency, commonly cites Weber's model as an exemplar description (Albrow, 1970; Lasswell and Kaplan, 1950); the scholarly literature concerned with bureaucratic dysfunctions and pathologies also takes the Weberian model as its starting point (Gouldner, 1954; Crozier, 1964;

Merton 1957); and the conceptual frameworks which the Dimensional models of bureaucracy were developed all rest, to a greater or lesser degree on interpretations of Weber's writings.

The particularly extensive influence of Weber's thought may be estimated from Table 2:1. This table was produced by surveying the indexes of the ten works in literature base A (Appendix 1), which were taken as a sample of the organizational literature for this study. The table lists the twenty-two contributors to the literature who were cited in seven or more of these works, together with the accumulated number of pages referenced for each author in the respective indexes. This procedure was assumed to constitute a method for identifying "exemplar" contributors, that is, scholars whose work is widely recognized as having a significant effect on the study of organizations.

Table 2:1 clearly identifies Weber's writings as having exemplar status in the discipline. Not all of the references observed relate directly to his conceptualization of bureaucracy as such, some being references to his typology of authority. However, since this typology provides a major foundation for his outline of bureaucracy, this strengthens rather than detracts from his status in this survey. In addition, it can be noted that the more significant works of at least five other authors in this tabulation take Weber's bureaucratic model as a point of departure or reference in their major works (Gouldner, Merton, Blau and Scott, Selznick, Crozier). Furthermore, the work of others has been strongly influenced by Weber, Parsonian functionalism being a case in point.

TABLE 2:1

RESULTS OF CITATION SURVEY TO IDENTIFY MAJOR EXEMPLARS IN ORGANIZATIONAL LITERATURE

Name	Number of books[1] citing this contribution	Total number of pages indexed in all books
Weber	10	167
Etzioni	10	101
Taylor	9	46
Argyris	9	48
Gouldner	9	91
Simon	9	45
Merton	9	46
Barnard	8	61
Blau and Scott	8	38
Burns and Stalker	8	25
Homans	8	55
March	8	40
March and Simon	8	38
Parsons	8	57
Selznick	8	40
Blau	7	44
Mayo	7	47
McGregor	7	29
Thompson J.D.	7	47
Urwick	7	18
Crozier	7	35

[1] The books surveyed are those in Literature Base A in the Appendix.

The Ingredients of the Weberian Model

An extended account of Weber's conceptualization is given in a later chapter. At this stage several of the reconstructions that have found widespread usage and recognition in the literature are examined in order to provide an initial introduction to the construct and establish a basis for the consideration of the Dimensional model associated with the study of schools. In order to better illustrate the approach taken to the "Weberian model" in the study of educational administration, all of the major illustrations offered are taken from the disciplinary literature.

Some early reconstructions. Eric Hoyle (1965; 1969; 1975) has evidenced continuing interest in the analysis of schools as organizations and his earlier surveys of the potential of various approaches constitute valuable reviews of the literature and can be taken as accurate reflections of the tenor of the whole. His (Hoyle, 1965:99-100) earlier treatment of the Weberian model begins in characteristic fashion with a tabulation of features:

> Weber's concept of *bureaucracy* embraced the following criteria: a supreme chief with authority defined by legal competence (i.e. exercising bureaucratic authority), a hierarchical staff structure each of the offices of which has a clearly defined sphere of competence and is filled by selection based upon technical qualifications, incumbents remunerated by salary and pursuing the occupation as a career, and the enforcement of a systematic discipline and control in the conduct of the office.

This single sentence outline is presumably taken directly from Weber and is of interest for its inclusion of several features commonly ignored in more recent capsular descriptions and for the treatment of these as "criteria". Hoyle's account may be compared with Bidwell's (1965:974), which was published in the same year. Four features of bureaucratic systems are given:

> 1. a functional division of labor ....
> 2. a definition of staff roles as offices, that is, in terms of recruitment according to merit and competence, legally based tenure, functional specificity of performance and universalistic, affectively neutral interaction with clients.
> 3. the hierarchic ordering of offices, providing an authority structure based on the legally defined and circumscribed power of officers, a system of adjudication of staff disputes by reference to superiors and regularized lines of communication.
> 4. operation according to rules of procedure which set limits for the discretionary performance of officers by specifying both the aims and modes of official action.

It is of passing interest that Bidwell does not present this as an interpretation of Weber's original statement, although this would certainly seem to be the case. In fact, the lack of recognition accorded to Weber in both this classic review and his more recent survey (Bidwell, 1977) presents an anomaly given the contrary practice in the literature.

Contemporary text book presentations. The contemporary practice of utilizing well established reconstructions of the Weberian model has been previously noted. This is not always the case, with Mouzelis (1968:39), Abbott (1969) and Hanson (1979) providing instances in which the authors attempt to build directly from translations of Weber. However, Owens (1970), Morphet, Johns and Reller (1974), Champion (1975), Hill (1969), Banks (1976) and Gue (1977), and the analysis in Hanson (1979) provide an indicative sample of the more widespread reliance on secondary sources. The four most commonly relied upon reconstructions are those by Blau (1956), Presthus (1962), Merton (1957) and Hall (1963). The Prethus' (1962:5) formulation portrays Weberian bureaucracy as evidencing five main characteristics:

1. Fixed and official jurisdictional areas, which are regularly ordered by rules, that is by laws or administrative regulations.
2. Principles of hierarchy and levels of graded authority that ensure a firmly ordered system of super and sub-ordination in which higher offices supervise lower ones.
3. Administration based upon written documents; the body of officials engaged in handling these documents and files, along with other material apparatus make up a bureau or office.
4. Administration by full time officers who are thoroughly and expertly trained.
5. Administration by general rules which are quite stable and comprehensive.

The Blau (1965:29-30) version is presented by Banks (1976:191) in this fashion:

> According to Weber, the ideal-type of bureaucracy is characterized by a high degree of specialization; a hierarchical system of authority; explicit rules which define the responsibility of each member of the organization and the coordination of different tasks; the exclusion of personal considerations from official business and impartiality in the treatment of subordinates and clients; recruitment of experts; the existence of a career.

Given the phrasing of this statement, the reader could well be unaware that the bureaucratic characteristics lists are *not* "according to Weber" but according to Blau's interpretation of Weber as is acknowledged in Banks' footnote. Banks is not attempting to mislead her readers, but merely mirrors the bulk of the literature by relying on indirect sources in her presentation of the Weberian model.

Discussion

The quotations given here serve to indicate the manner in which the Weberian model has become established in the literature. In addition to the reliance on secondary sources, these quotations also illustrate the fashion in which certain ingredients of Weber's construct are recognised in some reconstructions, but not in others. Hoyle's (1965:99) description, for example, embodied certain aspects of the conditions of employment characteristic of bureaucratic offices, whereas the Presthus (1962:5) description ignores these aspects and concentrates on organizational structure and functions. Further discrepancies and difference of emphasis reflect differences in interpretation. Blau (1965), for instance, recognises impartial relationships between officials and clients, whereas Mouzelis (1964: 39) recognises only "impersonality of relationships between organizational members."

On the other hand, the illustrations offered here serve to reflect accurately the points of common agreement in these reconstructions of the Weberian model. These may be summarised as providing an emphasis on the existence of a hierarchy, the presence of rules and a specialized division of labour. All of the reconstructions cited here embody these characteristics and they may be taken as defining key elements in the model form of Weberian bureaucracy as it is identified, discussed and criticized in the survey and textual literature. The uselessness of such a tabulation of "bureaucratic" features becomes evident when their generality is recognized. The feature of hierarchical organization is, for example, considered by Koestler (1968) and Miller (1965) to be characteristic of all open systems, and thus all organizations. Similarly, the presence of rules and a division of labour in feudal and other traditional and decidedly non-bureaucratic types of organization is clearly evident. Furthermore, Weber's (1947:343) comparative juxtaposing of bureaucratic and traditional organizations, which he uses to stress the distinctive features of bureaucracy, considers none of these three characteristics as being of particular importance. Both types of organization are recognized as embodying hierarchies of authority, the difference being that these are based on differing principles; behavior in both types of organization is considered to be constrained by rules, it being the manner in which these are legitimately established that is the point of contrast, and both types of organization are portrayed as being built on a division of labour, the determination and staffing of the positions so created being of the essence in Weber's comparison.

One of the major points at issue, therefore, is that most of the abbreviated reconstructions of the so-called Weberian model fail to capture or even reflect the essential elements in the original formulation. What is given in the reconstruction is a heavily structured representation which ignores or makes but partial reference to aspects of bureaucracy which Weber considered essential. Among these is the type of authority exercised, the manner in which this is legitimated and the type of contractual relationship between the organization and its members.

In summation, it is evident that a clear distinction must made between (a) the original Weberian model, and (b) the contemporary reconstructions of this model, and between these and the various Dimensional models. This study is concerned with the prototype model.

RESEARCH INTO THE BUREAUCRATIC NATURE OF SCHOOLS

With the notable exception of the body of research concerned with school climate (Halpin and Croft, 1963; Watkins, 1968; Sackney, 1977), investigation of the bureaucratization of schools forms the single most coherent and sustained research thrust into the organizational nature of schools. For the most part, this research has built upon the analysis of survey data collected *via* the administration of instruments designed to measure various dimensions of bureaucracy, extracted, directly or indirectly, from reconstructions of the Weberian model. A short review of this research forms the major part of this section. This is preceded by an overview of several alternate approaches.

Non-dimensional Research

Moeller's (1962) study relating teacher powerlessness to the bureaucratic nature of their employing school systems is widely cited in the literature as an early attempt to measure bureaucratization of educational organizations. The instrument devised for this was "based on Blau's characterization of bureaucracy" (Moeller and Charters, 1966:450) and consisted of an eight item scale that was completed by external judges. This instrument has been criticised in the subsequent literature (Punch, 1969:47) as unreliable and unsophisticated. Nevertheless, the forced choice items bear a clear relationship to Blau's model of bureaucracy and the instrument could well provide a more defensible measure than some of the more recent and complex instrumentation, especially as the procedure utilized provided good control of the "bureaucratic bias" of the respondent. The major findings of the study were that the teachers' sense of power was greater in the school systems that were scored highest on the bureaucratization scale, and that there was no direct correlation between system size and degree of bureaucratization, but there was some indication of an indirect relationship. The first of these findings was contrary to the research hypothesis and has caused a degree of consternation in the literature (Isherwood and Hoy, 1973:127), despite the ability of Weber's original writings to accommodate and possibly even predict this finding. A further point is that this study took school systems as its unit of analysis, although the instrument could have applicability to schools as such. Other essentially uni-dimensional studies of the bureaucratic nature of schools include those of Hartley (1964), Hill (1969), J.G. Anderson (1965; 1968) and Miller (1976). Hartley's instrument was a thirty item questionnaire designed to tap respondent perceptions of variation on twenty or so bureaucratic characteristics taken from the general literature. The Hill (1969) study was part of a larger attempt to use several models of organization and administrator behavior to classify and order observed events in schools (Griffiths, 1969). Hill relied heavily on Presthus (1962) and Blau (1956) and the Parsonian pattern variables to develop a taxonomic model to classify ninety samples of member behavior in educational organizations. The taxonomy proved capable of accommodating all of these samples along a continuum from "purely" bureaucratic to "purely" pre-bureaucratic (Hill, 1969:152). Despite the apparent utility of this taxonomy, the degree to which it accurately reflects the common scholarly images of bureaucracy is questionable and its use dysfunctionally complex. James Anderson's (1965; 1968) work is apparently more closely related to the Weberian exemplar but suffers from an over reliance on equating the presence of rules with bureaucratization. Attention is also given to several variables which have only a hypothesized relationship to bureaucracy, but which, nevertheless, are measured as if they were an indication of bureaucratization.

Miller's (1976) study has a much firmer theoretical and methodological base and is more relevant to this inquiry. He (Miller, 1976:251-254) worked directly from a reasonably detailed reconstruction of Weber's model and sought to test a number of "socio-psychological" propositions derived from this. Ordinal measurements of the degree of organizational knowledge, amount of control exercised, prestige attributed and position held were obtained for seventy five members of five non-secondary public schools in the United States. Miller's (1976:258) major findings

> are consistent with Weber's reasonings that persons with superior training will achieve positions of authority and be able to (effectively) exercise control, and that consistent with their expertise, their positions and the degree of control they exercise will be legitimated by the members of the organization.

The final study of note in this review is that of Pusey (1976). This is a participant observation study in the tradition of Gouldner (1954), Selznick (1966) and Crozier (1964), consequently, its major findings stress the dysfunctions and the "disabling pattern" of events and behaviors observed in the organization studied, in this case the Tasmanian educational system. Pusey (1976:15-47) describes the formal structure of this system as "bureaucratic" and considers that the internal dynamics between this and the technology and socio-cultural elements of the system create tensions which produce dysfunctions and bureaupathic types of behavior. The classification of the formal elements of the system as bureaucratic rests on Pusey's (1976:1) interpretation of "the brain-child of Max Weber", in which he identifies formal structure as the key element in Weber's model. This is somewhat misleading as is his (Pusey, 1976:16) identification of an attempt to "devise general rules which will fit all the particular cases" as the "most crucial assumption" in the model. The major result of this approach is to present the Weberian model as a "straw man" which is then held accountable for the major "dysfunctions" observed, these being classified as such due to a rejection of the tenability of the Weberian model. Apart from the apparent intent to disparage his own perception of Weber's model, Pusey does provide a useful compilation of observations and several excellent analyses of aspects of the organizational nature of schools. Furthermore, once the analytical bias of the author is taken into account, his description of the formal structure of the Tasmanian schooling system does provide some valuable insights into school organization.

Dimensional Research

Empirical investigations of school bureaucratization that adopt a dimensional approach can best be classified according to the form of instrumentation used. The discussion offered here makes a major distinction between the research based on various forms of the *School Organizational Inventory (SOI)* and that utilizing other forms of instrumentation.

The School Organizational Inventory.

This instrument was adapted by MacKay (1964a) and Robinson (1966) from the *Organizational Inventory* originally devised and used by Hall (1963) to measure the bureaucratic structure of ten commercial and industrial organizations; hence, the conceptual validity of the instrument rests primarily on

Hall's original conceptual framework.

Development of the instrument. Hall (1963; 1973:66-72) based his approach on an interpretation of the Weberian model which assumes that it can be broken down into the "multiple attributes comprising the bureaucratic type." Table 2:2 reproduces the method adopted by Hall in identifying the "characteristics crucial to the concept." As may be seen, Hall (1963:34) extracted a number of characteristics from Weber's writings and then surveyed the works of other scholars to determine the degree to which they also identified these as being characteristic of the bureaucratic form of organization. In interpreting this table, it is important to realise that the eight scholars whose writings were sampled all took Weber's model as their own point of departure and they all evidence different orientations towards Weber's original approach, not only to bureau-

Table 2:2

HALL'S SURVEY OF BUREAUCRATIC CHARACTERISTICS

Dimensions of Bureaucracy	*Weber*	*Friedrich*	*Merton*	*Udy*	*Heady*	*Parsons*	*Berger*	*Michels*	*Dimock*
Hierarchy of authority	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
Division of labor	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•
Technically competent participants	•	•	•	•	–	•	•	–	–
Procedural devices for work situations	•	•	•	–	•	–	•	–	•
Rules governing behavior of positional incumbents	•	•	•	–	–	–	•	•	–
Limited authority of office	•	–	•	–	•	•	–	–	–
Differential rewards by office	•	–	–	•	–	–	–	–	–
Impersonality of personal contact	–	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	–
Administration separate from ownership	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Emphasis on written communication	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Rational discipline	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Source: Richard H. Hall,"The Concept of Bureaucracy: An Empirical Assessment," The American Journal of Sociology, *Vol. 69, No. (July 1963), 34.*

cracy, but to sociology as a whole. Friedrich (1952) is, for example, openly hostile to the concept of ideal-types while Michels (1959) evidenced much respect by dedicating his *Political Parties* to Weber. Furthermore, the table as given by Hall is both incomplete and inaccurate. Pugh *et al.* (1964) note that Weber included twenty-six or so characteristics in his model, but Hall elected to list only eleven. Furthermore, the indication that Weber did not recognize "impersonality of personal contact" is obviously incorrect. These observations do not detract from the ability of Halls' instrument, and the subsequent modifications, to measure particular aspects of organizational structure that may be relevant to a degree of bureaucratization, but they do suggest that the congreuncy of the instruments to Weber's model is debatable.

Given the findings in Table 2:2, Hall devised the Organizational Inventory as a sixty-two item questionnaire in which each question was designed to measure one of the six characteristics identified in the table. With the exception of Impersonality, all of the characteristics reflect a recognition by five or more of the authorities indicated in the Table.

MacKay (1964a:48) then adapted Hall's instrument for use in schools:

> The inventory was modified to more closely fit the school as a special type of organization. Although the great majority of the items were not changed, there were some which contained terms or phraseology that were peculiar to the business or industrial organization. When changes were made, an attempt was made to retain the basic concept embodied in the original (item). That is, the Inventory was not made to fit the school in its bureaucratic aspects; but rather in its superficial, technical aspects.

It is worthy of note that these modifications were not made through the use of any particular model of the organizational nature or the "bureaucratic aspects" of schools, but assumedly on the basis of a commonplace image of schools.

Following a pilot testing, the revised instrument was then used to measure teacher perceptions in thirty-one Alberta public schools. MacKay (1964a; 1964b) reported that the instrument appeared to discriminate well between schools and that pupil achievement and teacher satisfaction were inversely related to scores on the hierarchy of authority dimension, while school size was directly correlated with total bureaucratic score.

Robinson (1966:84-85) further modified the instrument by rewording and eliminating a number of items, so that the revised form contained forty-eight items distributed among the original six dimensions. This new version was renamed the *School Organization Inventory (SOI)* and used to sample teachers' perceptions in twenty nine elementary and secondary schools in British Columbia. Subsequent use of the SOI included a study of twenty Alberta high schools by Kolesar (1967), Punch's (1969) investigation of forty-eight elementary schools in Ontario, Gosine's (Gosine and Keith, 1970) inquiry into organizational structure and teacher satisfaction and personality in twenty-four Ontario elementary schools, and Isherwood and Hoy's (1972; 1973) study of thirteen secondary schools in the State of New Jersey.

The dimensional model. With the exception of Gosine and Keith (1970), all of the research reports noted above (including MacKay) identified a particular pattern of intercorrelations between the six scales of the SOI. Table 2:3 reproduces the intercorrelation pattern obtained from Robinson's (1966:118) data and serves as an example of the common pattern. As may be seen, all the correlations

TABLE 2:3

INTERIOR RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SIX SCALES OF THE
SCHOOL ORGANIZATION INVENTORY ATTAINED WITH
ROBINSON'S DATA (N = 488 teachers in 29 schools)

	1 Hierarchy of Authority	2 Speciali- zation (Division of Labour)	3 Rules for Incumbents	4 Procedural Specifica- tions	5 Impersonal- ity	6 Technical Competence
1		-.333	.595	.760	.413	-.387
2			-.198	-.268	-.179	.380
3				.562	.322	-.275
4					.436	-.338
5						-.250
6						

All correlations significant beyond the .01 level of confidence

are statistically significant at or above the .01 level of confidence and the Specialization and Technical Competence scores are negatively correlated with the scores on the remaining four dimensions, but positively correlated with each other. These intercorrelations appear to indicate that the SOI is measuring two distinct aspects of school structure. To investigate this more fully, Kolesar (1967), Punch (1969) and Isherwood and Hoy (1972) conducted factor analyses of their data and concluded that the Hierarchy of Authority, Rules for

Incumbents, Procedural Specifications and Impersonality scales of the SOI were loading on a single factor, which was named Authority by Kolesar, while the scores on the Specialization and Technical Competence scales were loading on an independent factor labelled Expertise by Kolesar.

The identification of these two statistical dimensions lead Kolesar (1967) and Isherwood and Hoy (1973) to advance a four cell typology of school bureaucratic structure. Figure 2:1 reproduces the model advanced by Isherwood and Hoy (1973:127). Both the expertise and authority factors are conceptualized as being independently variable and orthogonally related. The expertise dimension is considered to be that measured by the degree of functional specialization in the work tasks of a school (Specialization) and "the extent to which organizationally defined universalistic standards are utilized in the selection and advancement" of teachers (Technical Competence) (Isherwood and Hoy, 1973:126). The authority dimension is formed by the remaining four scales of the SOI. As defined by Isherwood and Hoy (1973:126), these are:

1. Hierarchy - the extent to which the locus of decision-making is prestructured by the organization
2. Rules - the degree to which the behavior of organizational members is subject to organizational control
3. Procedures - the extent to which organizational members must follow organizationally defined techniques in dealing with situations which they encounter
4. Impersonality - the extent to which both organizational members and outsiders are treated without regard to individual differences.

These researchers (Isherwood and Hoy, 1973:126) considered that Authoritarian and Collegial types of school would be those most likely to be found in any sample of secondary schools. The

		Expertise	
		High	Low
Authority	High	Type I Weberian	Type II Authoritarian
	Low	Type III Collegial	Type IV Chaotic

Source: Isherwood and Hoy, 1973:127

Figure 2:1

DIMENSIONAL BUREAUCRACY AS OUTLINED BY ISHERWOOD AND HOY

Authoritarian type was characterized as one in which power would be "centred in the hierarchy" and "centralized decision-making would be the dominant operational mode." In contrast, a Collegial type of school would evidence "shared decision-making among all members of the staff with expertise on a particular issue." The "Weberian" type of school was envisaged as a school "infused with open competition between members of the hierarchy and expertly trained staff members for control of the organization" and together with the Chaotic type, was considered to be statistically rare.

Predictions made by the researchers regarding the distribution of these four types were upheld in their sample of thirteen New Jersey secondary schools. Schools were assigned to quadrants in the model by comparing the scores on each of the factoral dimensions with the means for the total sample. Only one school was scored as relatively high on both the Authority and Expertise dimensions and thus classified as a "Weberian" type, the remainder of the sample being distributed between the Collegial or Authoritarian quadrants. The two major hypotheses tested in the study were concerned with the relationship between teacher powerlessness and organizational types with work values appearing as a mediating variable. Both hypotheses were upheld, the major conclusion being that "professionally orientated teachers experienced the greater sense of powerlessness in Authoritarian schools and the least in Collegial schools." This finding also seems consistent with the expectations of Ratsoy (1973), who recognized similar types of school structure following a review of most of the studies mentioned above, but it contradicts the Moeller and Charters finding reported earlier.

Other Dimensional Research

The balance of the dimensional research finds its conceptual foundation in either Hage's (1966) axiomatic theory or the work of the Aston group (Pugh and Hickson, 1976; Pugh and Hinings, 1976). The one exception to this is the work of Barry Anderson.

The School Descriptive Inventory (SDI). B. Anderson (1971a; 1971b; 1974) developed this instrument to measure seven dimensions of bureaucracy, the first six of which were taken from Hall (1963), the other being labelled "Centralization of Control." Factor analyses of data gathered from students in eighteen Ontario secondary schools suggested the operation of independent factors that were named Status Maintenance and Behavior Control. Anderson (1974:67) comments that the first of these "served to measure whether or not people in the school attempted to maintain social distance from one another" while the Behavior Control factor "... seemed to reflect attempts on the part of the school authorities to control the behavior of respondents." Among Anderson's (1974) findings was a "negligible correlation" between student and teacher perceptions of bureaucratization, and a lack of any definite relationships between school size and bureaucratization. In a later application of this instrument (Anderson and Tissier, 1973) with a sample of 3,605 grade ten students in seventeen Ontario high schools, the Status Maintenance and Behavior Control factors were again identified, but, in the use of regression models, these factors emerged as poor predictors of levels of student aspiration.

Structural Properties Questionnaire (SPQ). Details of this questionnaire are reported by Bishop and George (1973) together with a number of findings resulting from various applications. The original form of the SPQ contained seventy items designed to tap the Complexity (Specialization), Centralization (Hierarchy of Authority), Formalization (Standardization) and Stratification (Status Systems) components of organizational structure advanced by Hage (1965) in his axiomatic theory which, comment Bishop and George (1973:68) "tends to synthesise the concepts of leading organizational theorists including the usually accepted features of Weberian Bureaucratic Theory." Following a factor analysis of data collected from an initial sample of 296 elementary school teachers, all items that did not receive a factor loading of .40 or higher were dropped from the final form. This analysis also lead to a "serendipitous finding" of a common factor at work in the items originally designed to measure the degree of stratification. This factor appeared to measure the "professional latitude" accorded to teachers and to substantiate Katz's (1964) recognition of autonomy as an important aspect of schools. Consequently, the items originally designed to measure stratification were dropped from the final form and the five items contributing to the professional latitude factor retained as an autonomy scale. The revised form of the SPQ was then administered to 615 teachers in sixteen public high schools in Connecticut. Subsequent factor analysis of these data revealed five operative factors, which appeared to contribute to three major structural features: centralization, formalization and complexity. Bishop and George (1973:79) concluded that,

> Since all schools may be viewed as essentially bureaucratic organizations, measures of organizational structure must be sufficiently sensitive to differentiate between often very narrow limits of structural variation ... it is the contention of the authors that the dimensional or structural approach appears to be the most productive for continued development of precise conceptualizations and qualitative measures of organizational structure within schools.

This *a priori* assumption that schools are "bureaucratic organizations", the subsequent assumption that bureaucracy is essentially a structural property and the implicit assumption that schools can be better understood by working from constructs built from these initial assumptions and measured by teacher responses to questionnaire items developed to reflect these constructs, reflect the established disciplinary paradigm and offer a fair summary of the assumptions underlying the dimensional approach.

The Bureaucracy Scale. This instrument was originally published by Hage and Aiken (1967) in their attempt to operationalize Hage's axiomatic theory, and has been used with but slight modification by Grassie (1971) in a study of the perceptions of 574 staff members in fourteen high schools in Brisbane, Australia (Grassie and Carss, 1972; Grassie, 1973), and by Hoy, Newland and Blazovsky (1977). In both cases the scales used were those designed to measure aspects of participation in decision-making, the existence of a hierarchy of authority, job codification and rule observation. Canonical correlations of the Australian data indicated that scores of the last three of these dimensions all varied inversely with teacher satisfaction, the hierarchy of authority scale accounting for 23 percent of the variance. Grassie (1973:180) later described the schools as "mini-bureaucracies" and reported that groups of teachers and administrators who were differentiated by positions of authority and teaching tasks evidenced different "perceptional models of the school's administrative structure" (Grassie, 1973:189).

The Hoy, Newland and Blazovsky study (1977:76) utilized the same four scales of the Hage and Aiken instrument to measure centralization and formalization in forty-one New Jersey secondary schools. Correlations with the OCDQ measure of esprit showed a significant inverse relationship between this proxy for morale and the mean scores for each school on the hierarchy of authority and the rule observation subscales, but a significantly positive correlation (.44) with the participation in decision-making scale (Hoy, *et al.* 1977:79). Multiple regression analysis led the researchers (Hoy, *et al.* 1977:83) to conclude that when the rule observation scores were controlled, then job codification emerged as being "directly and significantly related to teacher esprit." They note that this finding is at odds with that of Isherwood and Hoy (1973) but supports Moeller and Charters' observations that teachers in relatively highly bureaucratized school systems experienced a greater sense of power. Commenting on the relatively high scores obtained on the centralization index, Hoy *et al.* (1977:82) note that "either the centralization in schools is impeding efficiency or perhaps the task of the school is much more uniform and routine than often assumed."

The Aston Scales. These instruments originated from the Industrial Administration Research Unit of the University of Aston in the United Kingdom in the 1960's, and their development and use is best reported in the compilation of research reports edited by Pugh and Hickson (1976) and Pugh and Hinings (1976). The five major structural dimensions recognized and measured in the various forms of the Aston instrument are specialization, standardization, formalization, centralization and configuration, each of which is measured by a particular set of variables, data being collected by a combination of interviews and observation. Variables are further classified into structure, the conceptualization of which was strongly influenced by Weber and Hage, and context which subsumes such factors as size, technology, charter and social function. These conceptualizations, the methodology and selected variables have found use by Lam (1971; 1977), Holdaway *et al.* (1975) and Sackney (1976) in investigations of educational organizations. Only the Holdaway *et al.* work could be classified as an exploratory or validation study, but this investigated twenty-three community colleges in Alberta and British Columbia, and is therefore not directly relevant here. Sackney's (1976) study concentrated on relationships between climate and structure in forty Prairie secondary schools, and assumed, after some adaptation, that the Aston instrumentation would provide adequate measurement and conceptualization of the structure and context variables. Factor analysis of the data (Sackney, 1976:69) suggested that three factors were in operation: (1) Dispersion of Authority, within which the degree to which decisions were made inside the schools varied inversely with the degree to which the power to make decisions was concentrated at the top levels of the school structure and directly with the number of full time administrators and clerical employees; (2) Standardization, a dimension along which there was an inverse relationship between a reliance on standard procedures and the extent of the division of labour; and (3) Non-workflow proportion, which emerged as a direct correlation between the proportion of support personnel and the emphasis placed on written procedures, rules and communication. These factors suggest a three dimensional model of organizational structure similar to that obtained in the original Aston studies, and could serve as a basis to expand the two dimensional model identified previously. In the correlation of the OCDQ climate variables with the Aston measures, the highest association ($r = 0.65$) was found between specialization and esprit (Sackney, 1973: 108) "suggesting a tendency for morale to be the highest in schools where there was the highest degree of specialization in non-workflow (support) activities." This appears to agree with the Hoy *et al.* (1977) and Moeller and Charters (1966) findings.

Lam's (1971) study evidences greater modification of Aston variables, and lead to a four-fold conceptual classification of schools: bureaucratic centralized; bureaucratic non-centralized; non-bureaucratic centralized; and non-bureaucratic non-centralized, in which "bureaucratic" was mainly taken as measuring the formal specification and documentation of teaching activities and centralization as concentration of authority. Of particular interest was Lam's attempt to define and measure the construct of educational technology. This was operationalized by distinguishing kinetic technology as "the techniques governing program input, interaction process and output assessment of the teaching-learning process in class," and potential technology as "the factors governing the application of these techniques" (Lam, 1977:37). The original study (Lam and Cistone, 1972) suggested that the kinetic technology in schools tending towards a bureaucratic-centralized structure was more highly constrained and standardized than in the less highly structured schools. A subsequent cross-cultural study (Lam, 1977) based on data from secondary schools in Canada and Hong Kong revealed a high correlation (.88) between the socio-cultural setting and respondent perceptions of school structure. This study also suggests that the "amount of formal education and reading of professional journals" (two of the measures of potential technology) do not lead directly to diversity of techniques employed in the classroom, while the measures of organizational structure also evidenced little effect on classroom technology.

Discussion. A number of generalized comments can be made about the research and the instruments reviewed above which serve to summarize the discussion and relate the major points to the present study. With the exception of the Aston methodology, the instruments reviewed rely on measuring the perceptions of respondents through questionnaires. Thus, in each case, the data reflect a set of individual perceptions of each item. Furthermore, these data are measured by "Likert" type response categories which are assumed to provide equal interval scales to measure the total sets of perceptions for each item. Finally, each item is assumed to contribute to a particular sub-scale of the instrument such as hierarchy of authority or job codification. Each of these features could be taken as providing a basis to question the conclusions reached. Grassie (1973) has clearly indicated that the teachers in his sample had distinctly different "perceptual models" of the administrative structure of their schools, which varied with their status and teaching specialities, thus the tendency to treat the mean scores of all the teachers in a school as providing a measure of bureaucratization may be a questionable procedure. Secondly, the assumption that the Likert response categories serve as a measurement scale along a dimension of bureaucracy is difficult to validate. One of the strengths of the Moeller and Charters instrument was that their eight characteristics of bureaucracy were scaled, that is, placed in an ordinal relationship to each other, on the basis of pilot data. The subscale items of instruments such as the SOI and SPQ and the Hage and Aiken instrument are all taken as contributing to a dimension, but the differential weights and relevances are unknown. The homogeneity of the scales themselves is also open to question. Statistical analyses of the Aston and of the Hage and Aiken scales in the studies cited suggest that these instruments do indeed contribute to a homogeneous statistical construct, but this is much less sure in the case of the other instruments, including the SOI. The items comprising the four contributing scales of the authority factor as identified by Isherwood and Hoy (1972), for example, are scattered almost randomly across five of six factors in the Kolesar (1969:184) solution, each of which has eigenvalues greater than 1.5. Furthermore, in the unrotated Punch (1969:52) analysis, the expertise factor accounts for only 10 percent of the common variance, and has an eigenvalue of only .284.

Of more direct relevance to this study, however, is the relationship between the dimensional instruments and Weber's model. The six constituent scales of the *School Organizational Inventory*, as outlined and defined by Isherwood and Hoy (1973:126; page 83 *supra*) for example, include Technical Competence, Hierarchy of Authority and Rules for Incumbents, each of which has an obvious Weberian referent. However, the manner in which these bureaucratic attributes have been conceptualized and operationalized in the SOI and other instruments may not accurately reflect Weber's original conceptualizations.

Two of the Rules for Incumbents items in the SOI are, "Rules stating when teachers arrive and depart from the school building are strictly enforced" and "The teacher is constantly being checked for rule violations." There is no evidence in these items nor in the other items of the "Rules" scale that indicate whether the school rules are "approved in the order governing the group" or follow "principles which are capable of generalized formulation" both of which are central in Weber's (1947:330) original statement. On the contrary, the tenor of many of the items in the Rules for Incumbents scale is punative and restrictive, and the scale seems more concerned with the *existence* of rules rather than their method of formulation, interpretation and enforcement, these being of the essence in Weber's approach. Similar problems of interpretation are evident in the items associated with the other scales of the SOI, and the Hage and Aiken instrument.

Finally, there is a body of opinion in the literature that takes exception to the creation of assumedly independent "dimensions" through the disaggregation of ideal-type models (Eldridge and Crombie, 1974). Burns (1966:143) is clearly of this opinion:

> Ideal types, in fact, represent a normative extreme of system theorizing, in that the shared value elements which inhere in the parts and maintain the system are, so to speak, maximized. It is therefore inappropriate to convert the elements Weber itemizes in his description of bureaucracy as an ideal-type into autonomous factors which it is reasonable to convert into variables and then to seek for correlations between them as though they were independent.

Summary

In this section, attention has been directed to the body of research literature reporting empirical investigations of school bureaucratization. This research was classified and reviewed according to the type of instrumentation employed. Several non-dimensional research studies were discussed first. The most influential of these has been that by Moeller (1962) which identified a direct relationship between teachers' sense of power and the bureaucratization of the school systems in which they worked.

The bulk of the research reviewed was classified as adopting a dimensional approach to the investigation of the bureaucratization of schools. This research was divided into studies that employed various forms of the *School Organisational Inventory* as developed by MacKay (1964a) and Robinson (1966), and others. A major product of the SOI research has been the two-dimensional model of Dimensional Bureaucracy presented in Figure 2:1. Other dimensional instruments reviewed included the *School Descriptive Inventory*, the *Structural Properties Questionnaire*, the Hage and Aiken (1967) *Bureaucracy Scale*, and the Aston scales. For the most part, research with these instruments has not produced dimensional mdoels that are as explicit as that emerging from the SOI based research, but the reported findings outlined a number of relationships between various structural properties of schools and teacher perceptions. One continuing theme that has been explored is the relationship between overall bureaucratization and teachers' sense of power with the most recent study confirming the Moeller finding of a direct relationship.

Two points of particular relevance to this study that emerged in the review were (1) the frequent use of Weber's model of bureaucracy in the development of the instruments considered, and (2) the necessity of drawing a distinction between the images and models produced by the dimensional research and that presented by Weber. Several points of apparent non-agreement between aspects of Weber's model and aspects of the various instruments were noted, which suggest that although reference is made to "Weberian bureaucracy" in discussions of the research reviewed, this may not be appropriate.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

The bulk of this chapter dealt with literature associated with the conceptualization and analysis of the organizational and bureaucratic nature of schools. The review of this conceptual literature offered in the first section of the chapter suggested that little attention has been paid to distinguishing schools from other forms of organizations, although there is recognition in the contemporary literature that such a distinction may be necessary.

In the second section, four denotations of the term bureaucracy were considered with particular attention being given to distinguishing between Weber's original conceptualization, contemporary reconstructions of his model, and more recent specialist usage. The review of empirical research into the bureaucratic nature of schools conducted in the final section of the chapter seemed to illustrate the importance of distinguishing between these various usages of the term, particularly in the case of the statistically based dimensional models of bureaucracy.

In conclusion, the points advanced in the chapter serve to substantiate many of the initial arguments advanced in the prolegomenon. Investigation of the organizational nature of schools has proceeded on the assumption that general models of organizations could provide the necessary conceptual framework, while models of bureaucracy, especially Weber's ideal-type, offer a specific point of reference in both conceptual and empirical analysis. However, the studies surveyed have been of a general nature or have relied on reconstructions of Weber's model that may not be accurate. Furthermore, the particular nature of schools has not always been given specific attention. Schools have been treated as organizations, or as bureaucracies, but no instance has been located in which analysis has been based on a detailed appreciation of schools, organizations and Weberian bureaucracy as analytically distinct phenomena.

Chapter Three

ON THE NATURE OF ORGANIZATIONS

> .. the term "organization" will be used to refer to a broad type of collectivity which has assumed a particularly important place in modern industrial societies - the type to which the term "bureaucracy" is most often applied .... It is by now almost a commonplace that there are features in common to all ... types of organizations.
>
> Talcott Parsons

INTRODUCTION

Organizations have been of importance throughout all civilizations. Empires, nations and principalities of all kinds have been founded and challenged by conscript, mercenary or volunteer armies structured and deployed according to the organizational principles of the times. Religions have influenced events and populations through churches that have endured for centuries. Engineering feats have been accomplished, products and services provided and trade has flourished through many types and forms of organizations. In contemporary times organizations would appear to touch, and in many cases mould, most aspects of our lives.

The nature of these ubiquitous social systems holds a central place in this study for both schools and bureaucracies are taken as instances of organizations. Hence, "organizational nature" provides a common point of reference in this enquiry. The objective in this chapter is to develop a set of characteristic features of organizations that can be used to structure the analytical discussions that follow. This is attempted following a short consideration of the manner in which organizations are identified in the literature and the features that serve to set them apart from other types of social system.

IDENTIFYING ORGANIZATIONS

Students of organizations are faced with what appears to be a veritable *smorgasbord* of formal definitions in the literature. These range from terse single line statements (Caplow, 1964:1; Parsons, 1960: 17) through extensive lists of characteristics (Strother, 1963:23), to detailed but qualified descriptions (Etzioni, 1964:3; Hall, 1972:9). Each of these authorities offers a different definition, which when taken together present a reasonably coherent image. However, it is clear that the literature acknowledges no single definitive statement. The current state of affairs, then, is one in which the nature of organizations is more easily suggested than delineated. The approach used here builds on an attempt to differentiate organizations from non-organizations. A short discussion of both types of social phenomenon is followed by the identification of a number of characteristics of organizations that set them apart from other instances of social organizations.

Organizations

The term organization is used in the literature as an abstracted analytical construct under which certain types of social phenomena and their empirical referents are classified: "Corporations, armies, schools, churches and prisons ...." (Etzioni, 1964:3) " ... banks, insurance companies, public utilities, national associations, hospitals ... colleges, department stores ... and social service institutions" (Champion, 1975:2) being among the types of social structures commonly held to be organizations. Hall (1972:1-2) chooses to cite empirical instances rather than naming types: "The United States Government, the Black Panthers, the United States Army, Students for a Democratic Society, the International Business Machine Corporation, the Roman Catholic Church, the Ku Klux Klan, the University of Minnesota, the First National Bank." Clearly, the term subsumes an exceptionally large and varied set of phenomena. Furthermore, constituent units of particular organizations can also be treated as organizations in their own right. A particular Division, Battalion, Company or Platoon within the United States Army or any other army, could be treated as an analytically discrete organization and it is the practice in the literature to "close the system" at whatever level is logical and convenient given the context and the intent of the analyst. One point of importance here is that constituent organizations of a "compound" organization such as an army or multi-national corporation will likely differ from each other in many ways, and, if taken singly, have a different character from the total compound organization taken as a whole.

Non-Organizations

Etzioni (1964:3) cites "tribes, classes, ethnic groups, friendship groups and families" as examples of non-organizations, and

Caplow (1964:1) excludes racial or ethnic groups, cliques and play groups. Parsons (1960:16) suggests that:

> A family is only partly an organization; most other kinship groups are even less so. The same is certainly true of local communities, regional subsocieties, and of a society as a whole conceived, for example, as a nation. On other levels, informal work groups, cliques of friends and so on, are not in (a) technical sense organizations.

The tenor of these instances suggests that social groups formed through "natural" social causes, such as chance encounter, geographic proximity, mutual interest or marriage do not qualify to be termed organizations, although they are instances of the broader notion of social organization. Furthermore, all of these examples are classifiable under abstracted analytical terms commonly used in the categorization of social phenomena. Families, friendship groups and similar such smallish coherent groups in which all members share close ties and face-to-face knowledge of each other, are instances of primary groups (Cooley, 1909): they are commonly bound together by kinship, common or mutual interest and have a prospect or history of an extended period of shared identity. Occasionally, the term secondary group is used to refer to organizations to underscore the different analytical class to which these are assigned. Other major social analytical units used to refer to non-organizations include dyad, which refers to significant social pairs, community, class, "society" itself, state and nation, although some commentators (e.g. Etzioni, 1964) appear to view nations as organizations.

Emergent Characteristics

This short comparison of the contents of the analytical categories of "organizations" and "non-organizations" suggests a few general distinguishing characteristics. Organizations apparently have an element of deliberate planning and design: they are products of social technology rather than accidental or natural occurrences resulting from biological, geographical or deeply pervasive cultural forces. Insofar as they are analytically distinct from other major categories of social phenomena, they are not congruent with nation states, communities, primary groups or dyads, although such systems may be instrumental in establishing organizations. The analytical distinction between dyads and organizations further suggests that organizations will likely have more than two members (Strother, 1963: 23).

The upper size limit of organizations is problematical given that the term may be used to refer to corporate entities such as Exxon, Unilever and the Red Army, which may have more members, power or wealth than nation states. Very large organizations of this kind are composed of many smaller organizations that may be conceptualized as sub-assemblies of a larger, hard to delineate system. Such organizations are characterized by their very complexity. However, Blau and Scott (1962:7) make the point that some non-organizations, such as modern society itself, may be even more complex. They suggest that "Complexity by design may be more conspicuous than complexity by growth or evolution." The characteristic of complexity may therefore be more of a consequence of the formally contrived nature of organizations. Nevertheless, the term complex may be apt in referring to organizations that contain many sub-organizations.

A final emergent characteristic is that of an unambiguous identity normally symbolized by a name and a declared purpose. Such an identity suggests a particular type of corporate existence which is recognized in law and indicated by terms such as "corporate citizens." Organizations are not real in the same sense that individuals are, and the literature (Silverman, 1970; Hall, 1972) cautions against the dangers of reification. Nonetheless, both the law and colloquial language does treat many organizations *as if* they were real.

A TAXONOMY OF ORGANIZATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS

The proceding discussion provides an initial orientation to the nature of organizations. The features considered, a membership of more than two, an essentially contrived nature that allows for various degrees of complexity and an unambiguous identity indicated by a name and particular purpose, serve to differentiate organizations from other instances of social organization. These features are taken as given in the following discussion which attempts to list characteristics which are frequently attributed to organizations in the literature. Each of the attributes identified below is later treated as a particular facet of the nature of organizations, a facet being taken as a single significant aspect that is normally included in contemporary models and considered in analysis. Each facet can therefore be taken as providing an analytical category of the kind identified by Burns (1967:127) as being of importance in comparative analysis. The list of attributes given here has been synthesized from those identified in a number of expository and survey works (Etzioni, 1964: 3-4; Champion, 1975:2; Hall, 1975:9; McIver and Page, 1957:449; Parsons, 1960:17; Stinchcombe, 1965; 1967; Scott, 1964:488; Strother, 1963:23; Caplow, 1964:1; Burns, 1967:123; Perrow, 1972; Handy, 1976; Mouzelis, 1968:55-78; Tosi, 1975; Eldridge and Crombie, 1974).

Environment

Organizations are social phenomena that have members, knowledge and resources drawn from a larger and environing society and its component features.

This characteristic is 'obvious' and signifies that all organizations exist within, or are extensions of, a given society and its associated culture, technology and resources. This 'host' system is commonly termed the environment, and can be factored in many significant sectors, such as political, cultural or economic. As noted by Hall(1972:298-322), geographical and other physical features may also be recognized. The key characteristic here is that organizations will interact with their environment in various ways, and will be, to a greater or lesser extent, dependent upon environing features, forces and resources.

Formal Establishment

Organizations have a formal or official genesis.

This is to say that all organizations come into being in some fashion that is recognized as significant in the prevailing cultural environment. This may take many forms: the granting of a charter, a proclamation of a manifesto or statement of existence, the filing of legal incorporation papers, or some other similar action. Subordinate organizations are commonly created by appropriate action of the superior organization: the passing of statutes or a by-law or a corporate proclamation are commonly observable means.

Goals

Organizations are special purpose social units and are considered to have a particular and relatively unambiguous purpose, goal or set of goals, the attainment of which requires collective action.

This characteristic of goal pursuit is commonly recognized in formal definitions. Parsons (1960:17) for example stresses "... primary orientation to the attainment of a specific goal." Burns (1967:123) considers this spurious insofar as it "... defines, i.e. limits the kinds of things the words refer to - only if we conveniently forget that organizational goals are often, indeed usually, in dispute." This is likely so, but the purposive characteristic of organizations is still distinctive. The original goal of the organization as held by the founders may often be displaced and there may be periods of uncertainty, but organizations do have a purpose, an objective, which is taken as their reason for existence and operation, and, given the prevailing state of the environment, this purpose cannot be achieved without collective action by members. Two associated levels of purpose can give rise to confusion. To attain and maintain an organization's purpose, divisions of labour and sub-specification of objectives are usually required. Thus, a set of sub-goals for constituent members and groups frequently needs to be established. Burns' concern about goals being usually in dispute is best applicable in this technical specification of tasks and roles. It is dispute that centres on the how, rather than the what, of organizational purpose.

At a higher level of abstraction, the organizational purpose may indeed seem to be somewhat diffuse or ambiguous, but this lack of clarity can usually be resolved through functional imputation. Hasenfeld and English (1975) identify goal ambiguity as a characteristic of human service organizations, that is "people processing or changing" organizations. Schools, hospitals and prisons may indeed appear to have a diffuse set of goals which are probably a result of political and technical disputes as to how these organizations should operate. But their main purpose can usually be imputed by an outside analyst: to educate and socialize children; to care for the sick; and to detain and rehabilitate those found guilty by law. Different analysts may impute different goals stemming from different models of society and organizations. This may add to the apparent confusion, but does not deny functional analysis which can impute purpose.

Structure

Organizations are deliberately designed and redesigned to pursue their specific purpose and to survive in the prevailing environment.

Etzioni (1964:3) speaks of the deliberate structuring and restructuring of organizations and this element of contrived structure is an essential quality, which enhances an image of organizations as instances of social engineering:

> The organization ... is a technical instrument for mobilizing human energies and directing them toward set aims. We allocate tasks, delegate authority, channel communication and find some way of coordinating all that has been divided up and parcelled out. All this is conceived as an exercise in engineering; it is governed by the related ideals of rationality and discipline. The term organization ... refers to an expendable tool, a rational instrument engineered to do a job. (Selznick, 1957:5)

This design of organizations yields their formal structure which is evidenced in the divisions of labour, authority and responsibility suggested by Selznick. Thus, organizations appear as multi-status social systems in which the positions are established and reinforced by the logic of the design and the communication flows between constituent units. A consequence of the formal structure is what Caplow (1964:1) calls "an exact roster of members." This should be interpreted as a known and limited set of roles and duties each of which is associated with an individual member or a constituent group. Such a roster is usually mapped by a Table of Organization or an Organizational Chart, and in some instances by accompanying sets of job specifications. Such "sterile frameworks" have been placed in disrepute by those who stress the importance of non-formal processes. Nevertheless, these models attempt to outline the formal structure of organizations as this is conceived by the designers or managers. They may contain posts or positions that are, at a given time, unfilled, soon to be changed (redesigned), or which are functionally obsolete, but they would appear to stand in the same relation to an organization as does the blueprint of a building or the socio-gram of a primary group. They indicate key elements, lines of communication and authority, and map formal structure which can persist after all incumbents have left and been replaced.

"Natural" social phenomena such as families and tribal moieties would appear to persist and evolve through culturally defined structures. Organizations do so through these formal organizational blueprints which may not, of course, be written down, but remain known nonetheless.

Authority

Organizations operate through the coordinated action of constituent members, achieved through the exercise of authority.

The contrived and special purpose phenomena known as organizations are shown in the literature as requiring management, administration or leadership, which involves the exercise of some kind of authority. Direction, control and coordination is not peculiar to organizations, but, in non-organizations this is frequently attained through mechanisms such as kinship or friendship. Hence, the establishment and maintenance of organizational structures and operations would appear ultimately to revolve around the existence of positions and incumbents of these whose main purpose is to ensure coordination through gaining compliance to their directives. At least two differential sets of status positions are thus defined: management and workers; administration and membership; those that exercise authority and those that comply. Subordinates normally outnumber superordinates and necessities of communication and coordination frequently mean that other intermediary and "middle-management" positions are also necessary. The basis of the authority available to those in superordinate positions is taken as varying from organization to organization, position to position, and situation to situation. Coercion, which may be commonly manifest as a threat of dismissal or removal of privilege or status, is normally recognized as only one such basis (French and Raven, 1959). Regardless of how authority is manifest, it is a characteristic of organizations that structural dyads and chains exist through which superordinates effect the compliance of subordinates in the furtherance of organizational objectives.

Technology

Organizations pursue their specific purposes through the application of a characteristic technology to the doing of work.

Stinchcombe (1967:23-25) pays much attention to the instrumental rather than expressive activities which are characteristic of organizations. They are essentially places of work. The manner in which this is accomplished in determined by the technology employed by the organization. Technology is used in the literature to mean the use of knowledge, skills and artifacts to produce desired end products rather than in the limiting colloquial usage which denotes the contemporary ways of doing things derived from the scientific-industrial revolution. The cultures of all societies embody technologies, and organizations are social phenomena in which specific significant technologies are commonly manifest. The general technology of management is common to all organizations, and some, such as governmental or regulatory organizations, embody only this type of technology and its ancillary skills. However, most organizations may be seen as employing additional special purpose productive technology such as may be found in engineering companies, bakeries, assembly line factories or advertising agencies. Central to any technology are tasks and the means of accomplishing them which take the form of tools and techniques. The technologies employed in organizations may also be broken down into those component units which then define particular stages in the flow of work through the organization. Both the tasks, the artifacts and techniques used to accomplish them, be these drill presses or computers, the assembly of parts of the analysis of problems, and the related workflow are normally perceived in the literature as being related to, and integrated with, the formal structure of the organization.

Products

Organizations produce goods and/or services which have utility and value in their environing society.

As special purpose units, organizations produce things for which there is a demand in the environment. These products need not be artifacts such as washing machines or automobiles, nor need they be of value or utility to all members of the environing society. The political advantage and publicity produced by terrorist groups is neither desired nor sanctioned by all, but is valued by some. Banks, governments and advertising agencies provide services, symbols, decisions, regulations and images which are, for the most part, intangible. Whatever the effect or "real need" for what is produced, organizations are very much concerned with end products. The corollary of output is input and organizations can be easily imagined as special purpose repositories of technology which acquire resources from their environment and transform some of these into required end products through the authoritative coordination of the non-consumed resources. This brings us full-circle by restressing the importance of the environment as the source of personnel, technology and other resources and as the destination for whatever outputs the organization produces.

Summary

This discussion has sought to outline the major characteristic features of organizations that are generally recognised in the literature. The image presented clearly ignores, out of necessity, many of the emphases associated with particular contributors, and the discussion has deliberately concentrated on the more formal aspects of organizations. Thus, the image presented is partial insofar as there is considerable latitude for the effect of unintended consequences which may be associated with the creation and operation of any given organization. Goals may be displaced or subverted, management may fail, the organization may produce unintended products or spillovers or be poorly designed. Furthermore, little explicit attention has been paid to the manner in which members may handicap, modify or augment an organization's planned or expected purposes as a consequence of individual natures and allegiances to extra-organizational values or other groups. Much attention is paid to these and similar aspects in the literature associated with "human relations" models of organizations, but the content of this literature is given little explicit recognition in the discussion offered above, as it does not appear to assist in making a clear distinction between organizations and non-organizations.

The Taxonomy of Attributed Characteristics

Table 3:1 outlines the seven facets of organizations that have been recognized in the preceding discussion. These facets are used later in the study to aid in the recognition of the organizational nature of public schools and to structure the analysis of congruence. Several aspects of organizations that are accorded attention in the literature are ignored in this taxonomy. A case in point is that of decision-making. This activity features highly in some models of organizations, but it is not treated as an organizational facet in this taxonomy. There are two justifications for this and similar omissions: (1) parsimony - an attempt to include all aspects of organizations that have been stressed by contributors to the literature would have resulted in an overly large and complex model unsuited to the present purpose; (2) emphasis - the taxonomy developed here is to be used to guide enquiry into the *organizational* rather than the *administrative* nature of schools. Hence, processes such as decision-making and communication are not considered to command the attention they would deserve if this emphasis was reversed.

The tabulation of facets offered is not meant to serve as an explanatory model of organizations, but as an outline of important elements. Hence, the arrangement of the facets in Table 3:1 is not meant to indicate any causal or consequential dependencies. The order used in the preceding discussion and this is used to provide a logical sequence for discussion in the following analysis. This is a matter of convenience rather than a reflection of explanatory power of the taxonomy.

Table 3:1

TAXONOMY OF THE CHARACTERISTIC FACETS
OF ORGANIZATIONS USED TO GUIDE
DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS IN THIS STUDY

FACETS	Some related aspects
ENVIRONMENT	- the source of resources required for the establishment and operation of an organization - may be analyzed into various segments, including socio-cultural and economic
FORMAL ESTABLISHMENT	- frequently signified by a charter, the act of a superior body or the proclamation of objectives
GOALS	- may be evident in the original charter or a later statement of purpose or may be imputed by functional analysis
STRUCTURE	- identified by the formally established constituent elements such as positions or sub-systems and the interdependent relationships between them - has the potential to persist in the original or redesigned form beyond the tenure of individual members
AUTHORITY	- the major basis for maintaining and changing the structure and effecting coordination between constituent elements and members
TECHNOLOGY	- characteristic methods of doing the work necessary to attain objectives and overall purpose - may be analysed into tools, tasks and techniques
PRODUCTS	- the goods and/or services produced are intended to meet some need or demand in the environment

Use In Analysis

The tabulation of attributed facets given in Table 3:1 is used in two major ways in the balance of the study. In the development and analysis of the models the taxonomy is used to identify important organizational characteristics. In other words, the taxonomy makes it possible to ask a number of questions such as "What constitutes the environment of public schools?" or "What elements of Weber's model of bureaucracy are concerned with authority?" By assuming that public schools and bureaucracies are both instances of the wider category of social phenomena known as organizations, then it should be possible to identify the features of each that correspond to each of the facets identified in the taxonomy.

Once the features of each model are associated with an organizational facet, then they many be compared directly. For example, if the structure of a bureaucracy is identified as the hierarchical arrangement of offices and that of public schools as the arrangement of employee roles, then it will be necessary to discuss the degree to which the role of teacher or principal is congruent to that of a bureaucratic "office".

The taxonomy finds its second use in discussions of this kind by serving as a means of identifying considerations of the different facets of organizations identified in the literature. Hodgkinson (1978: 31-2) and Handy (1976:176-204), for example, identify a variety of different structural arrangements in organizations. Similarly there are a number of typologies of organizational technology identified in the literature. The analysis of congruency between the models may be aided considerably by considering whether the models evidence similarity in terms of the various types of structure, technology, or other facets, identified in the literature.

Summary. To return to Burns' (1967:118) comment on comparative study as noted in the exposition of the research design, the questions that guide the overall analysis are first of all "What is it?", that is to say does this or that aspect of either model correspond to organizational structure, technology, goals, and so on. These questions are pursued by using the taxnomoy as a classificatory device. Burns' next questions "What is it like?" and "What is it not like?" are operationalized through the second usage of the taxonomy. For example, is the technology of public schools like any of the organizational technologies identified by Joan Woodward? If so, do the elements of organizational technology identified in Weber's model also seem to be similar to this type of technology?

CHAPTER SUMMARY

The nature of organizations was discussed under two headings. In the first section of the chapter, an attempt was made to identify those social systems referred to in the literature as organizations by citing illustrative examples and drawing a number of distinctions between organizations and non-organizations. The characteristics that were noted as differentiating organizations from other social systems were a formally contrived or deliberately constructed nature, that provides for various degrees of complexity, a membership of more than two persons, a relatively unambiguous identity and purpose.

In the second section of the chapter an attempt was made to identify a number of key features that are commonly attributed to organizations by analysts. Seven features were identified and these were used to construct the simple taxonomy of characteristic features summarized in Table 3:1.

The chapter concluded by illustrating the two main ways in which this tabulation of attributed features is used in the analysis chapters of the study.

Chapter Four

SCHOOLS AS A TYPE OF SOCIAL SYSTEM

> Christopher Robin was going away. Nobody knew why he was going; nobody knew where he was going; .... But somehow or other, everybody in the forest felt that it was happening at last....
>
> Christopher Robin, who was still looking at the world with his chin in his hands called out "Pooh!"
>
> "Yes, Christopher Robin?"
>
> "I'm not going to do Nothing any more."
>
> "Never again?"
>
> "Well, not so much. They don't let you."
>
> "How do you do Nothing?" asked Pooh after he had wondered for a long time.
>
> "Well, it's when people call out to you just as you're going off to do it, What are you going to do Christopher Robin? and you say, Oh, Nothing, and then you go and do it."
>
> A.A. Milne

INTRODUCTION

Christopher Robin was about to embark upon a rite of passage negotiated by all of us and many who have gone before. The inhabitants of the Hundred Acre Wood appear to have no conception of schools, and this is as it should be, for schools for the young mark the beginning of the end of childhood fantasies and playthings and the beginning of socialization to the instrumental and utilitarian world of grown-ups. Furthermore, formalized educative and socialization systems appear to be one of the social forms reasonably unique to human kind, other social creatures relying on genetic and group mechanisms for socialization to differentiated roles and general knowledge transmission (Tinbergen, 1965; Box, 1973; Tiger and Fox, 1971).

While schools may be unique to man, they do not appear to be unique to any particular age or culture. In the present time, all nations of the world operate schools, the estimated less than total cost of which was in the order of $132 billion U.S. in 1968, that is, four per cent of world G.N.P. (Faure, *et al.* 1972:36-40), and, as Myers (1960) suggests, schools are features found in all civilizations of man from that of Sumer to Colonial America.

Perhaps the most common image of school throughout times is of a place where children go to be, or become, educated. Hence, 'school', as in the Milne passage, is frequently seen as a facility for non-adults. However, in common usage, second cycle educational establishments which typically enrol post-pubertal pupils are also considered to be schools, and in North American usage, third cycle agencies such as colleges and universities can also be termed schools. Furthermore, the generic term is frequently modified in referring to particular types of schools, for example elementary, alternative, open or Montessori schools. All such modified terms refer to differences in curriculum, clientele, and/or educational philosophy and suggest that there may be no such thing as a 'typical' school. Differences are also apparent in size, timetabling, geographic location and premises. There are still one room schools in Canada, while in Ontario there is one elementary school enrolling over 1300 pupils, and 26 secondary schools enrolling more than 1900 pupils each (Ontario Ministry of Education, 1977). However, Weick (1977:2) has remarked on the apparent similarities which exist between schools that vary greatly on many variables and which allow them to be "recognised and labelled." Furthermore, contributors to the literature reviewed previously have attempted to identify characteristics of schools which differentiate them from other social systems. Waller (1961:6-7) offered five characteristics "which enable us to set apart and study them as social unities" and Carlson (1964), Katz (1964) and Lortie (1975;1977) also present sets of characteristics with the same intent.

The major objective in this chapter is to attempt an identification of the characteristic features of schools which serve to set them apart from other social systems and which could be taken into account in an analysis of their organizational nature. A major purpose is to clarify the nature of schools as general phenomena so that in the subsequently developed model of the public school characteristic differences and similarities can be highlighted. In attempting this, the wide variety and ubiquity of schools as commonplace phenomena in human experience is taken as a valuable base on which to build, with instances and illustrations of what appear to be characteristic features of schools being drawn from a variety of times and cultures. Hence, this chapter seeks to outline the nature of schools by building a conceptual model of schools as a commonplace type of social phenomenon.

In developing this model, little attention is specifically paid to literature that embodies particular sociological and other disciplinary models of schools on the grounds that this literature presents what appears to be a confusing and at times contradictory melange of emphases and paradigmatic alternatives. Major sources used are the historical and anthropological works of Myers (1960), Ballard (1971), Watkins (1963), Beck (1965) and Aries (1963) and the sociological contributions of Waller (1961), Katz (1964), Carlson (1964), Bidwell (1965), Corwin (1967), Elboim-Dror (1973) and Lortie (1975; 1977) that contain attempts to identify characteristic attributes of schools or school systems. This body of knowledge is drawn on to substantiate the observations made in the following pages, but these works also influenced the model developed here in a more general manner that is not easily acknowledged.

One particular problem in studying schools is their commonplace nature. All members of contemporary Western society, and many who have gone before, have taken the rite of passage on which Christopher Robin was to embark. Hence, there is considerable amount of folk knowledge relating to schools, and many of the general statements that can be made about their nature appear 'obvious'. But, because a thing is 'obvious' seemed all the more reason to subject it to scrutiny in the development of the following model, for it is likely, by definition, to be characteristic. Thus, the model developed in the following pages discusses many obvious features of schools, but this is seen as both inescapable and necessary.

ON THE NATURE OF SCHOOLS

The Purpose of Schools

Schools appear as special purpose intermediary systems between lower and higher status roles in societies or sub-communities. In this respect they serve as bridges between child and adulthood, between being unqualified and being qualified for any number of positions, such as dentist, engineer or welder in our society and warrior, decision-maker or priest in earlier times. In this sense, school can clearly be seen as having two major missions. The first of these is that of recreating a body of general and/or specialized knowledge in the minds of pupils.

The educative function. Machlup (1972) provides an extensive economic view of schools which stresses their "knowledge production" function. In discussing various types of knowledge, Machlup (1972:7-22) makes a clear distinction between "socially new knowledge" which he describes as "that which no one has had before" and subjectively new knowledge. Schools are concerned with producing subjectively new knowledge in the minds of pupils. In terms of Boulding's (1966) typology, they are concerned with folk and literary knowledge which is considered to be of "enduring interest" (Machlup, 1972:18). Thus, schools are places in which significant cultural knowledge of a given society or sub-group is preserved and extended across and within generations.

Obviously, schools are only one of the social forms available for this task, for, as Hodgkin (1976) notes, humans evidence an innate predisposition to learn and will likely learn from all situations which they encounter. Nevertheless, schools appear as one member of the class of special purpose social phenomena concerned with the deliberate promotion of learning. Watkins (1963:427) maintains that in all societies the need for the regeneration of important knowledge will be met with such special purpose agencies:

> ... the incidental educative function of social life is supplemented by a more or less self-conscious purpose, superimposed upon one or more fundamental institutions or carried out by a special educational organization. This purpose involves the conservation, extension and transmission of all the culturally accepted values and ideals to the succeeding generations so as to insure their continuity as they are defined in the local group and thus perpetuate its life.

Socialization. In this passage Watkins also aludes to the parallel socialization function of schools. In a broad sense the general acquisition of cultural and social knowledge can be subsumed under the terms socialization and enculturation. Dreeben (1968) and Brim and Wheeler (1966) adopt stances in which socialization to the norms and values of the host society or community is the main purpose of the school, the acquisition of special purpose knowledge being a subset of the total process of socialization. This view may be valuable in considering schools as child processing agencies, but is less tenable when other forms of school are considered. Nevertheless, it is clear that the total package of subjectively new knowledge acquired by school pupils will include norms, values, attitudes and socially derived self and other concepts in addition to less diffuse knowledge as defined in the school curriculum. Some general codes of behavior and perception of the world appear to be deliberately "built in" to schools. Children may be instructed in deportment, encouraged to value certain views and constrained into desirable patterns of behavior. Similarly student physicians may be instructed in a preferred bedside manner, encouraged to discredit non-paradignatic knowledge and to cultivate self-confidence. On the other hand, school students will also acquire norms and behaviors as a result of what are for the most part unanticipated consequences of school stucture and process, as well as learnings generated from general participation in the student culture. Hence, an important distinction can be made between subjectively new knowledge--which can include norms, values and attitudes, and which is acquired as a result of a planned and purposeful activity in the school—and that which is acquired incidentally as a result of participation in the social dynamics of schools. The major content of the first of these two knowledge sets is considered here to constitute the educative function, the major content of the second the socialization function. Both of these sets of knowledge are best seen as overlapping and both are influenced by the characteristic features of school structure and process.

Latent functions. Additional school functions may also be identified. Spady (1973) recognises custody-control, certification and selection in addition to instruction and socialization as major school functions. These are certainly characteristic of contemporary public schools and by extrapolation may be recognized as latent functions in other instances of schooling. By grouping together students within one setting, both the custody of these candidates for new roles and their control is facilitated, should this be of importance to the appropriate authorities. Similarly, the weeding-out or re-routing of role candidates is facilitated, and those that graduate are automatically certified by this process as being eligible for their new role in society. This is normally marked by a ceremony and/or the award of appropriate symbols. These need not be paper credentials or formal graduations as understood in contemporary culture, as is shown by Watkins' (1963:438) description of the symbolic clothing and body painting engaged in by the boy graduates of the West African bush school when they participate in their village graduation ceremony.

Classes and Pupils

School pupils and the classes into which they are formed are two highly interrelated features of schools. It has been remarked that schools are essentially special purpose educative systems but that other such systems exist. The most useful feature for distinguishing between schools and other such systems of which tutoring and apprenticeship are the most common forms, lies in the structural feature of classes, for schools are first and foremost vehicles for grouped instruction.

Classes. James Garfield apparently asked for a log with Mark Hopkins on one end and himself on the other as an ideal instructional system (Geer, 1971:3; Mayer, 1963). Such an arrangement embodies the characteristic dyadic stucture of all teaching-learning systems (Hodgkin, 1976), but it is an instance of tutoring rather than schooling. It is a defining characteristic of schools that the teaching-learning dyad manifest in their structure is that of teacher and class. This arrangement allows for scale economies of effort which help explain both the ubiquity and popularity of schools. The grouping of pupils into classes and the tight coupling of these to a single teacher drastically minimizes the number of disseminators of knowledge required, economizes in the process of knowledge transmission and enhances the socialization function of schools by providing for student interaction in groups under the supervision of teachers as role definers, models and general exemplars.

In the smallest schools, the school is the class; in larger schools, classes form the major structural units. Lortie (1977:28-9) comments, in the context of American schooling:

> The basic building block of schools and school systems has been the single classroom in which one teacher works with a group of students. Growth has been 'cellular' through the addition and limited specialization of such units .... The first multiple classroom school was begun in Boston early in the 19th century.... The units have divided by subject, but throughout the entire period, schools and school systems have assigned particular students to particular teachers for an academic year at a time.

Classes are formed by what is best described as an initial aggregation of pupils on the basis of one or more homogeneous characteristics. Mayer (1963:6) reports that "By universal agreement, the ideal class size is twenty-five ..." and that there is "... a prescription to (this) effect in a book of the Talmud written in the fourth century." Certainly, schools throughout history evidence classes, although their size appears variable. Thus, in 1466 "Michault gives a description of the school .... He has no name, or at least no French name, to denote the 'parquet of little benches filled with pupils' surrounding each master's chair" (Aries, 1964:179). In the last century Joseph Lancaster and Andrew Bell proposed the ultimate use of economies of scale offered by school classes through the Monitorial method which espoused classes of up to 1,000 pupils (Ballard, 1971:62). Pupils are generally aggregated to represent homogeneity on variables such as age, sex, ability and subject to be studied, or, if number of pupils and prevailing philosophies permit, all of these. It is characteristic that for the most part pupils are *assigned* to their classes by school authorities, and/or by the structure of the curriculum which defines and delimits the type of knowledge to be taught in each class. In most situations, therefore, pupils have little or no control over the composition of the peer group within which they will be schooled, nor the teacher who will instruct them during the existence of the class.

The time period over which a school class exists will vary from instance to instance, but usually appears as a significant period during the pupil's school career. At the end of the term, or semester, or year, whichever is the organizational principle, the class ceases to exist, although a replacement will likely be created with new members for the next instructional cycle. As special purpose, time-limited social systems, school classes appear as temporary aggregates within which pupils in given age, ability or sex cohorts will be mixed and remixed, thus allowing for an augmentation of the socialization function. School classes are best seen as aggregates due to their lack of formal structure. The student body is formally undifferentiated except in aberrations produced by split contingencies and the like. The only initial and formal roles are teacher and student. Aries (1962:176) provides an overview of the dominance of classes in schools:

> Today, the class, the constituent cell of the school structure, presents certain precise characteristics which are entirely familiar: it corresponds to a stage in the progressive acquisition of knowledge (to a curriculum) to an average age from which every attempt is made not to depart, to a physical spatial unit, for each age group and subject group has its special premises (and the very word 'class' denotes both the container and the contents) and to a period of time, an annual period at the end of which the class's complement changes.

Pupils. The individual characteristics of pupils become submerged in the formation and reformation of classes, emerge over the life of the class, through both formal and non-formal processes, only to be submerged again when the next cycle of classes is formed. Parsons' (1975:216-237) previously noted analysis of classrooms in elementary public schools identifies a number of key features: the initial equalization of pupils by age, social class and in some instances ability; "the imposition of a common set of tasks"; a clear distinction between the teacher who is adult and a representative of the adult world, and the taught; and the process of "relatively systematic evaluation" of student achievement. These features, argues Parsons, serve to differentiate pupils on the basis of achievement, and thus the classroom is the major arena for selection amongst students. Within such a setting, competition between pupils is formally encouraged and constantly expected to develop rapidly, as will distinctive student cultures, which overflow classroom boundaries, reinforce socio-economic heritage and provide for the "underlife" of the pupil body.

Throughout the social dynamic of schools and classes runs a constant emphasis on the low status of school pupils (Shipman, 1975). Where pupils are children this is reinforced by social norms and structures external to the school. When pupils are adults, their low status in the school setting remains, but may be cushioned by differential levels of achieved or ascribed status in other settings. While pupils have the lowest status in the overall school body, newly enrolled students or those within the initial stages of the curriculum have the lowest status of all, which may be marked by special terms, tasks or denial of privileges enjoyed by more senior students. Handy (1976:135) provides an extensive quote from Dornbusch which describes the mortifying situation faced by new cadets at a Coast Guard Academy, where informal 'traditions' were enforced be senior class members and which exemplifies differential status within the pupil body. Such differential status is a product of the serial nature of school intake and workflow which is itself a product of the school curriculum. Graduates are replaced by regular batch intakes of new pupils who have to negotiate both the formal and informal ladders of status and achievement that lead to their graduation.

A final characteristic of school pupils is associated with their admission to the school for this is itself commonly a result of some selection process, and admission to a particular school carries with it particular status in the environing society. This is particularly evident in later cycles of schooling and in those cultures where initial schooling is not available to all children. But, even where mass schooling obtains, geographic location of households, which is associated with socio-economic position,(Benson, 1978; Tiebout, 1956) may be a basis for the selective intake of pupils. Whatever the selection process, enrolment in a given school confers a particular status on the pupils within the society or community, and this will likely be associated with particular expectations for behavior and often accords special privileges such as special care, free bus rides or unusual license to behave riotously on occasion.

Teachers and Teaching

Wilson (1975:309) notes that the specialist occupation of 'school teacher' tends to exist only in societies where "the diffusion of knowledge is an accepted social goal." In societies, or sectors of societies, where knowledge is more jealously guarded by elites, it is commonly revealed to the chosen few by well socialized, middle status members of the elite in question. These persons, be they priests, warriors, academics or physicians are likely to view themselves not as specialist teachers but rather as members of the elite first and teachers second. Hence, even though schooling is a common vehicle for education and socialization into such elites, the teachers in these systems will differ in some ways from those who serve in schools designed for general community, mass and mainly non-elite schools. Nevertheless, the process of teaching in schools, whether elite or non-elite, remains essentially similar.

Teachers. In village, common and mass education schools, the teachers are normally characterized by their appointment by external school authorities, their exemplar character, their relative autonomy in the classroom, their generally middle class status and their lack of a clear career in their vocation. Lortie (1975:2-3) describes the case in Colonial America at the time when local non-elite schools began to become popular:

> Schooling and teachers were neither uniform nor institutionalized during the first century and a half of Europeanized life on the American continent.... Those who taught school (most were men) were hired by local authorities for designated periods to perform stipulated duties for predetermined salaries. Those who taught were likely to do other kinds of work as well .... Officials in the community assessed the would-be teacher's moral standing and his knowledge of what he was expected to teach .... Once under contract

> the teacher performed his schoolhouse duties single-handedly .... Since the schoolhouse was physically separated from the community, the teacher had considerable privacy in the conduct of his day-to day work. The citizen governing body emerged during the colonial period .... Originally a subcommittee of select men, it grew into a distinct body with unique rights and responsibilities.

Apart from the indication that school teaching was not at this time a specialized occupation, Lortie's statement highlights common hiring procedures and qualifications for teachers, who seem to be usually employed by a body external to the school, which is normally composed of community notables and accountable to higher authority. The important qualifications for engagement normally appear to be subject competence and moral acceptability. In his description of the *petite ecoles* of sixteenth and seventeenth century France, Aries (1964: 293) gives this similar account:

> Thus, at Castillon, near Bordeaux, in 1759, 'the community gathered in due order', listened to its attorney declare the school vacant and decided that it was necessary to 'obtain immediately a schoolmaster who would be able to teach reading, writing, arithmetic and bookkeeping'. There was a candidate for the post: a certain Laroche, 'a sworn master-scribe of Bordeau'. The aldermen and jurats (the notables of the community) satisfied themselves as to his orthodoxy and morals and 'having seen his writing and questioned him about the rules of arithmetic and bookkeeping', decided that he was a suitable person to fill the post 'subject to the approval of His Grace the Archbishop and His Lordship the Administrator.' On the other hand, in a village in the Lower Pyrenees in 1689, a candidate for a similar post was rejected because he was incapable of deciphering the village charters.

Today the process is more formalized and differentiated but the same principles obtain. Teacher competence is signified by credentials awarded by the state education authority after a suitable training period in specialized schools and subject to moral acceptability. For example, the Ontario Education Act (227(1)2), specifies in part that "a certificate of qualification may only be awarded to a person of good moral character." Furthermore, although current public school teachers may be selected by administrators, only local school authorities are usually granted the power to appoint or dismiss teachers in local schools.

An emphasis on good moral character as a qualification for employment is a control mechanism to help ensure that teachers will be suitable role models for pupils. Waller (1961:40) remarks that school teachers in egalitarian societies are "paid agents of cultural diffusion" who are likely to be "maladjusted transients" forever a "little discontented" with the community. Subject as they are to an exemplification of desirable moral standards, and possessing a higher level of education than most other community residents, this could not be otherwise. This process also contributes to the generally observed middle-class, middle-status characteristics of teachers in contemporary times (Elboim-Dror, 1973; Lortie, 1975).

Within the school, teachers seem to be accorded relatively extensive autonomy and discretion in the fulfillment of their duties (Katz, 1964; Becker, 1971) especially in respect to making decisions regarding the placement, progress and future school career of students (Cicourcel and Kitsuse, 1971). They are normally accorded substantial authority over the conduct of pupils (Spady, 1973), with the major authority bases appearing to be their higher, and in child enroling schools, adult status, tradition and the active support of external agencies including parents and established authorities. Shipman (1975: 52) provides some general comment of the role expectation of teachers in this regard:

> Teachers are expected to be in command at all times. Failure to retain this control is condemned by fellow staff, is a symptom

> of bad teaching to the pupils and is the first index of failure to inspectors and others outside the school. It is the most worrying aspect of teaching to the student in training. The teaching role is defined first in terms of maintaining authority. This is part of the common front built up by the staff, which is threatened if any of its members fraternise too much or lose control.

This dynamic increases the "social distance" between pupils and teachers, and the community and the teacher and serves to entrench teacher autonomy in the classroom.

In contemporary times, and probably others, school teaching appears as a vocation in which service to ideals and effective motivation of and communication with the pupils are highly valued by practitioners (Lortie, 1975). Furthermore, school teaching does not appear as a career but rather as a single status occupation or a preliminary stage to advancement to higher status and authority positions within schooling structures or professional communities (Allison and Renihan, 1977). Thus Ernest Stabler (Mayer, 1963:24) is quoted as describing school teaching as "one year of experience repeated twenty times."

Teaching. Functional autonomy in the classroom and an authoritative position are both adjuncts of the teaching process in schools. This process is dominated by the structural feature of class instruction and by the specification of the knowledge sets to be taught in the curriculum of the school.

The objective of all teaching activities is 'learning': that is, the acquisition of subjectively new knowledge by those taught, this knowledge usually being manifest in changed behavior. This knowledge may be acquired through interaction with a variety of potential 'teachers', including artifacts, natural or deliberately structured environments, significant others, or primary groups. In some settings, the instructor may be remote from the learner, as in the case of the author of a text or a package of planned learning experiences, or may be in face-to-face contact. In schools participants will likely learn some things as a result of a meld of all these alternatives. However, the dominant teaching technology rests heavily on teacher and pupil behavior which is formalized and stereotyped by the existence of the aggregated instructional groups. For the most part, teaching in schools is mainfest as face-to-face interaction between teacher and class in which activities are planned, directed and dominated by the teacher. The teacher "broadcasts" knowledge by lecturing or talking to the group of pupils and augments this with questions directed at the class or particular individuals. This knowledge is reinforced and applied through recitation or performance of simplified tasks or exercises prescribed by the teacher; the actual acquisition of the knowledge by the individual members of the class being assessed through performance on tests or assignments given to or designed for the class as a whole, as noted by Parsons (1975). Various artifacts such as texts, slates, blackboards and overhead projectors usually augment this process. Taken together, these elements constitute the well tried and easily recognised technology of school teaching. Alternate techniques are currently practised in some settings, and the technology described above is often dubbed the 'traditional' method of teaching and indeed the method has been used in schools for centuries. Ballard (1971:12) offers this informative view of school teaching in Ancient Greece:

> In winter the boy left home before it was light, his way led by a slave (pedagogue) carrying a lamp. When they arrived at the school room, the slave settled down on a bench to wait while the boy began the work of the day. He sat on a stool and chanted the letters of the Greek alphabet - alpha, alpha, alpha; beta, beta, beta ....

> When the pupil had learned his letters, he went on to syllables, starting with the easy ones and progressing until he was ready to tackle complete words. The same pattern was followed in teaching a child to write: letters, syllables, words, until at last whole sentences crowned years of endeavour.

Furthermore, despite "open concept", continuous progress and individualized instruction, the traditional method would still appear to dominate classroom life from elementary school to the university lecture hall as can be easily observed, and modern alternative methods can be seen as essentially variants which are still based extensively on the characteristic elements of teacher planning, direction and control of classes of students.

The knowledge taught in this fashion in schools is extracted from the school curriculum by the teacher, usually being adapted for the class in question through teacher perception of the pupils' abilities and the available resources. This knowledge is then arranged into sequential and hierarchically ordered curriculum fragments called lessons. Hence, the actual teaching process in schools is one in which individual lessons are taught to the class by the teacher in a serial and logically ordered progression, with individual pupil progress being monitored from time to time within the context of overall class performance, and against the knowledge as defined in the curriculum. In the process of disaggregating and fragmenting the curriculum to form lesson content, teachers are commonly accorded considerable latitude, although a general expectation is held that the total curricular knowledge will be 'covered' during the time available. One of Becker's (1971:121) respondents observed:

> ... so you have to be on your toes and keep up to where you're supposed to be in the course of study. Now in a school like the D____ (slum school), you're just not expected to complete all that work. It's almost impossible. For instance, in the second grade we're supposed to cover nine spelling words in a week. Well, I can do that up here at the K____ (better school), they can take nine new words a week. But the best class I ever had at the D____ was only able to achieve six words a week and they had to work pretty hard to get that. So, I never finished the year's work in spelling. I couldn't. And I really wasn't expected to.

Curriculum and External Authorities

Curriculum. In their instruction and socialization of candidates for specialized role occupation in societies, schools are expected and required to teach specified and delimited sets of knowledge to their pupils. This knowledge constitutes the curriculum of schools and will represent what the controlling authorities perceive as essential learning to be acquired by the role aspirants being processed within the school.

The knowledge that constitutes the curricula of schools is perhaps the single most useful indicator for distinguishing between different types of school. In highly differentiated and complex societies, where schooling is used extensively, several parallel and sequential, hierarchically branching levels of curricula may be evident from primary through secondary and tertiary to graduate with provision for occupational and vocational specialization within the higher cycles. In less sophisticated societies, school curricula may include oral law and tradition as well as some occupational knowledge. But, regardless of content, this body of knowledge is normally sanctioned by one or more authoritative agencies external to, and primarily responsible for, the operation of the school.

In literate cultures, it appears evident that the curricula of schools will largely be defined by literary knowledge, that is, written materials will form the basis for most teaching and thus circumscribe what is taught. An example can be taken from the elite schools of Ancient Egypt (c3000 - 500 B.C.) where the forming and reading of hieroglyphics was a necessary skill among the religious and administrative classes. The sub-title of *The Teaching of Duaf* (Myers, 1960:305) is instructive: "Teaching that a man named Duaf composed for his son when he went up to the capital to put him in the school of the Books among the children of the great."

Because of their mission to teach what is only subjectively new knowledge to their pupils, all schools in literate cultures will be "schools of the Books" and thus first cycle instruction will of necessity concentrate on developing pupils' literacy. This in itself provides a logic which ensures that several cycles of schooling will be the norm in complex literate societies, with pupils gaining 'basic' knowledge in the first cycle schools, and more specialized and differentiated knowledge through subsequent schooling. Hence, the process of being schooled is likely to extend over a subjectively extended period of time relative to pupil life expectancy in a given culture. In our present society, this can translate into twenty-five or more years of continual school attendance.

In addition to literacy skills, schools offering what may be termed a general education commonly evidence similarity in the subjects studied. Yee's (1973:1) description of a contemporary Chinese middle school describes a curriculum that would not be unfamiliar to many present day Canadian, American or British high school students.

Furthermore. the classic cycle of school studies defined by Cicero and Quintilian, the foremost educational authorities of Ancient Rome, would not be alien to modern curriculum anaylsts:

> ... a course of study divided into two parts, one which the Romans called the quadrivium, (elementary level of schooling) composed of the study of arithmetic, geometry, astronomy (religious significance) and music, the other, a secondary level consisting of the study of grammar, rhetoric and logic, called the trivium. Physical education was not included by name but was taken for granted. The quadrivium and the trivium made up the seven liberal arts, as they came to be called, which made up the curriculum of European education for a thousand years to come. (Beck, 1965:17)

New knowledge and the passage of time have introduced additional subjects into general school curricula, such as science and history, but this two cycle structure and its constituent elements can still be discerned in contemporary schools in Europe and North America, and, through export and imitation, much of the world. The existence of two cycles of study, elementary and secondary, remains universal and rhetoric and logic are still taught, but under the names of literature and mathematics. This suggests that tradition may have particular importance in defining school curricula especially in so called academic knowledge. Aries (1964:243) suggests the medieval school, especially the small village schoools, placed some considerable emphasis on contemporary 'practical' concerns: "... the examples of writing given to the school boys to copy were business forms, receipts, bonds and so on. It was proposed to school them in the affairs of the age." The inclusion of specialized practical knowledge in schools preparing students for adult roles can often be problematic. Aries (1964:297) offers an instance from the time when village schools were becoming popular in France and the ability to write well and count accurately were highly marketable trades:

> The division of labour between school masters and scribes was a difficult problem, which even the magistrates to whom it was submitted found impossible to solve. Thus an edict of the High Court issued in 1661 states that the scribes may have printed books or texts to teach spelling but they must not on any account teach reading. But, as Claude Joly points out in his defence of the little schools, 'any Scribe teaching his pupils to read from these texts and printed books can say that he is teaching them spelling and not reading.' The best solution would have been for the schoolmasters to teach reading but not writing and the master scribes writing but not reading, with a common contested zone between them for spelling, which, incidentally, was in its early, unfixed stage. It can be seen that reading and writing, which are now considered to be complementary, were for a long time regarded as independent subjects to be taught separately, one being associated with literacy, and religious culture, the other with the manual arts and commercial practice.

Successful completion of the curriculum provides the major qualification for entry into the particular position, role or status to which students aspire by enrolling in the school, and as mentioned previously, this is normally signified by the award of some appropriate symbol of success during a culminating ritual. Furthermore, the original derivation of the term denoted "a course to be run," the clear implication being that only the fit would successfully survive the rigors of the experience. Hence, it is in the process of mastering or failing to master the curriculum that the selection function of schools is manifest.

External authorities. Decisions with regard to who may be taught what and by whom, that is what may constitute the curriculum of a given school, and who may attempt the course of study, are typically determined by authoritative bodies external to the schools themselves. In the matter of reading and writing noted by Aries above, the legal system was the arbiter. In the bush schools of West Africa, the curriculum was defined by tradition and specified by the "grandmaster or *namu* " who was considered to be "endowed with wisdom and mystic.

power in a superlative degree" and in whose charge the school was placed (Watkins, 1963:43). In the medieval school, the master appears to specify the curriculum. However, as Aries (1962) notes, the subjects taught were derived from Graeco-Roman tradition and specified in classical texts. Throughout the medieval period, pupils in all the European countries with a Romance heritage studied similar curricula, frequently from translations of the same classical works, which the teacher had mastered through his socialization to this culture.

In contemporary times and cultures, school curricula appear to de defined by tradition, practical politicized presses and legitimated formally constituted authorities such as governments and university and school boards. The definition of what knowledge should, can, must and must not be taught is a process which is characteristically performed by such appropriately constituted authorities external to the school.

This process appears as a logical extension of the task that these authorities have in the provision, operation and supervision of the schools they operate. Through their influence on curriculum, power to appoint teachers and the ultimate power to establish or discontinue a particular school, these bodies, be they local jurants, a council of bishops, a university senate or a local school board, effect control over the operation of their schools, and thus the molding of aspirants to the roles of which they are guardians.

Specialized Premises

Almost invariably, schools are housed in specialized premises. The West African bush school is no exception. Watkins (1963:430) tells us that:

> The sessions of this school are not held in the towns or villages proper, but a permanent place is selected in the forest not far distant from the principal or capital town of a chiefdom or district. This special section of the forest is ... never used for other purposes, although all the structures are burned at the close of each term. Every district or subchiefdom has its own school and special reserved forest for the purpose.

So it tends to be in all cultures and times. Schooling occurs in places set apart from the community, which are frequently reserved for this sole purpose. In contemporary times, schools appear as highly visible and central structures occupying relatively large tracts of land in central locations, and surrounded by *glacis* of asphalt or grass, the architecture frequently seeming to mirror Jeremy Bentham's designs which were modelled after prisons (Shipman, 1975:84). Typically, the administrative offices are located close to the main entrance, and the unscheduled exit of students (and even teachers) may often be controlled, and movement within the confines of the buildings regulated by bells, buzzers and regulations encouraging orderly progress. The message frequently communicated to both "inmates" and outsiders is one of restricted and highly controlled territory. The two exceptions to this are recreation and teaching areas. The latter form the commonest ecological niche in schools and school plans typically show the total space being divided into regular box like enclosures. This "eggcrate" architecture reflects and conditions life in schools, reflecting what Lortie (1975:13-17) describes as the "cellular" structure. These insulated spaces provide the arena in which teachers and pupils forge, modify and act out their reciprocal roles. Classrooms are traditionally regarded as teachers' territory, doors being more often closed than open, and permission being sought from teachers before entry. The advent of open space schools in the sixties (Cohen, 1975) does not, in retrospect, appear to have changed this a great deal. Larger schools remain conglomerates of classes, collections of classrooms.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

The objective of this chapter has been to outline what are taken to be the major characteristic features of schools. Seven major characteristics were identified and commented upon: (1) pupils, who are aggregated into (2) classes, each of which is placed in the charge of a single (3) teacher, for the purpose of (4) instruction in a determined (5) curriculum, sanctioned by (6) external authorities. The seventh characteristic feature is the location of the school on specialist premises.

No specific attempt was made in the chapter to identify different types of school. On the contrary, the intent was to develop a highly generalizable model that included features likely to be found in all kinds and types of school. For this reason, the model developed in this chapter will be refered to as the "generic" type of school.

As described, the generic type of school appears as a special purpose and relatively ubiquitous form of social phenomenon, observable in many societies and times. Schools are seen as serving as extensions of societies and sub-communities, established, operated and regulated by appropriately constituted authorities in order to educate and socialize persons in preparation for their occupation of relatively higher status positions in these social systems. This mission is accomplished through the teaching of a delimited and authoritatively sanctioned curriculum to aggregates of students by specially engaged teachers considered to be adequately knowledgeable and suitable exemplars of the values and ideals of the society or social system in question. While schools are only one form of specialized instructional system, they are differentiated from others by this grouped instruction of pupils regulated by external authorities. This suggests that schools could be best viewed as specialized teaching, rather than learning, systems; tutoring and apprenticeship and other similar instructional technologies being alternate forms. Obviously, there can be no guarantee that what is taught in schools will be learned, and indeed, much learning gained in schools may be incidental to their formal purpose. But, regardless of what is actually learned by pupils, schools are generally regarded as places in which there is reasonable sureity that a body of defined and delimited knowledge will be presented to the pupils.

Chapter Five

AN IDEAL-TYPE MODEL OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS

> The Bishop of Rochester in the House of Lords condemned Sunday Schools as fostering the views of the French Revolution, and many people agreed that revolt would spread to England if the poor were educated beyond the level in which God had placed them.
>
> C. E. Phillips

> Universal, free, compulsory schooling is accepted as the goal in every country. There is little argument any longer about the right to educational opportunity.
>
> Robert Hutchins

INTRODUCTION

Public schools are so ubiquitous in contemporary times as to be commonplace, and this may be one of the reasons why they are so poorly identified in the literature. The bulk of the conceptual and empirical studies of these phenomena treats them simply as schools and fails to take account of the manner in which the nature of the generic type is modified in the case of public schools. This distinction between public schools and the more general characteristics of schools *per se* is particularly important in any attempt to better understand the organizational and bureaucratic nature of the chief educational agency in contemporary societies, and this is especially so within the disciplinary matrix of educational administration, for it is *public* schools that are the major concerns of scholars and researchers in the discipline.

Distinguishing between public and other types of schools is the main objective in this chapter. This is attempted under three major headings. In the first section, attention is given to the three major characteristics that serve to differentiate public from other types of schools. This is followed by the development of the ideal-type model of public schools. In the final section, the organizational characteristics of this model are outlined with the aid of the taxonomy of organizational facets.

IDENTIFYING PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Public schools may be initially defined as the specifically modern type of school that compulsorily enrols all the non-infant and non-adult members of a society at no direct cost to themselves or their households. This preliminary definition focuses attention on three distinctive characteristics: (1) compulsory enrolment; (2) public funding; and (3) the role of the state as sole agency that can implement and enforce the policies to guarantee the foregoing conditions.

Compulsory Enrolment

Compulsory school attendance legislation was passed in Prussia in 1763, in Upper Canada in 1871, and in the United Kingdom in 1944. However, the mere passing of such legislation neither ensures that full attendance will result nor that the majority of children in the society were not previously receiving some form of education. In Upper Canada, for example, available statistics (Urquhart and Buckley, 1965:588-589) suggest that in 1871 only about 188,000 pupils were registered in the schools out of a compulsory age cohort of 443,000. Furthermore, registration does not mean attendance. The annual report presented to the legislature in 1879 (Prentice, 1977:19) suggests that 92 per cent of the compulsory attendance cohort were registered in the Ontario common schools, but Statistics Canada (1978) figures reveal that the average daily attendance rate was at that time below 50 per cent. Indeed, a 90 per cent average daily attendance was not achieved in Ontario (nor Canada as a whole) until the 1930's (Statistics Canada, 1978). On the other hand, it is clear that the majority of British children were receiving publicly funded education before the enactment of compulsory attendance legislation in 1944, and indeed the local boards did have the authority to require attendance if a community desired this.

Furthermore, schooling, as is often asserted, is not the only means for providing for the education and socialization of children and public schooling is only one of a much wider set of alternatives. Prior to the establishment of public schools, many children were educated through home instruction or through attendance at a wide variety of schools ranging from the methodist inspired and egalitarian motivated Sunday schools in which, in the original case, literacy and manners were given almost as much attention as religious dogma, through the cooperatively supported common schools that were so popular in North America, to the selective entry, fee charging and state aided grammar and Public schools such as Upper Canada College and Rugby. Exactly how these and other methods of educating the children in a society were displaced by almost universal reliance on the public school is a more complex problem than it at first appears (Scotford-Archer and Vaughan, 1971a; 1971b; Prentice, 1977) and is not of immediate importance here. It will suffice to note the two extremes of this social revolution by referring to the sentiments expressed by the Bishop of Rochester and Hutchins at the head of this chapter. During the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the European societies and their extensions in North America and elsewhere evidenced sharply divided opinions and attitudes towards the idea of educating all their members. But, at the present time, the universal right of children to an education is widely recognized and even enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights promulgated by the United Nations. Furthermore, this right is understood as being guaranteed in terms of a compulsory education in order to ensure that children may not be denied the opportunity of learning socially valued knowledge due to parental ignorance or social neglect.

Even so, this still does not explain why compulsory attendance legislation is crucial to an understanding of public *schools*, for schools provide only one route to an education. However, it is clear that any attempt to educate entire child populations cannot rely on tutoring, apprenticeship or some form of self-directed learning. In fact, schools providing as they do the valuable economies of scale resulting from group instruction, offer the only affordable and practicable technology available for making mass education and socialization a reality. Hence, compulsory education has come to mean, for all intents and purposes, compulsory school attendance.

This then is the first important characteristic of publc schools, but by itself compulsory attendance is not a sufficiently distinctive characteristic, for as noted, the existence of such a legislation may have little actual effect on attendance rates: the importance of compulsory attendance laws lies not in their actual promulgation but in the indication that they provide that a society has become committed to the universal education of its child members, and thus to public schools.

Free Schools and Universal Taxation

The emergence of public schools in different societies has proceeded[1] in many different ways and according to many different timetables as is suggested by the widely separated times in which compulsory attendance laws were passed by particular nations, but regardless of when a society became committed to mass education policies, it is clear that these cannot be effected unless sufficient revenues are provided, for the corollary of compulsory attendance legislation is the provision of free schools. By this it is meant that pupils may attend school at no direct charge to themselves or their households. In normal circumstances the only way this may be achieved is through some form of universal taxation. It is evident that there are many technical alternatives by which this may be done: the base of the tax may be property, income, sales or salt, or the monies may be appropriated out of general government revenues generated by taxes of all kinds. Furthermore, the monies so raised may be allocated in a variety of ways to ensure that adequate provisions are made for those who are to be educated. Possible alternatives include distributing the tax revenues to parents, who may then purchase education for their children on the open market, or granting the money to individual schools or school authorities, or the government may make direct provisions by establishing and operating schools itself.

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[1] And is proceeding. Universal primary education is still an as yet unattained policy goal in many of the so called Third World nations.

Some of these alternate approaches to financing mass education do not produce public schools. Distributing tax money to parents or students, whether this is in the form of cash, vouchers or scholarships, could,for example, lead to the support of entrepreneurial schools or certain types of non-school education.

However, it would appear that, with the exception of a few experimental schemes, all societies that have adopted mass education policies have adopted a method of finance that ensures a degree of accountability over how tax reserves will be spent and thus have encouraged the development of schools operated under public auspices through some form of political authority. The North American pattern has been to retain, in most cases, a variable degree of accountability to regional and local residents through various forms of property taxation. In other instances much more reliance has been placed on central taxation and funding. But, whatever pattern of finance is adopted, the effect has been to place the capital and operational financing of public schools under the control of one or more government bodies.

State Control

The preceding discussion of compulsory education and public funding leads inevitably to a recognition that public schools are agencies established and operated under the authority of the state. This term is not used here in the sense of implying any particular form of governmental or elitist domination, but is understood as denoting a politically organized society occupying a definite territory. As such the term refers to nation states such as France or the United Kingdom and to the semi-sovereign territorial units within federal nations as well as these nations themselves. Thus the Province of Alberta and the State of Oregon are recognized here as semi-sovereign states while the federations of which they are a part, Canada and the United States of America, are recognized as sovereign states.

Given the adoption of a policy of mass education in a state and the necessity of some form of universal taxation to implement this policy, then it follows that public schools will be established and their operation controlled by whatever system of government is accepted as legitimate in a given state. This is so as no other body has the means to enforce the necessary provisions. In the words of Nisbet (1973:96)

> It is the essence of the political community that, above the level of the most moderate form of physical chastisement, the only *legitimate* force in society is claimed for the state. It alone, declares a long line of western philosophers as well as spokesmen for the institutional state, can take life, imprison, exile, fine, expropriate, or otherwise use force upon individuals. That is, it alone can do these things legitimately.

Thus, should it become necessary for the provision of a compulsory attendance law to be enforced, then this must be done by a state agency. Furthermore, it is clear that only the state has the legitimate power to impose taxes or to authorize subsidiary bodies to do so. Given that the state has the only legitimate right to police and enforce these provisions, then it seems inevitable that the state must of necessity exert control over the other important aspects of the method used to deliver education to its entire child population. That this is the case is witnessed by the present nature of public schools.

Compulsory attendance legislation not only specifies that children must attend schools but also the length of attendance and on what grounds exception may be granted and thus defines who the pupils of public schools shall be; in order to ensure that the education received is of a sufficient and uniform quality, the state also specifies the qualifications required of teachers; in order to ensure that the knowledge taught is to be reflective of the society as a whole, the state also outlines the curriculum; in order to ensure that all pupils will be adequately, but not extravagantly, accommodated the state also regulates the type of specialized premises provided. Other instances are clearly evident and are noted later, but the point is established; public schools are essentially state regulated and controlled agencies of mass education.

Summary

This discussion has served to provide an initial orientation to public schools as a distinct and significant variant of the generic type that has only appeared in comparatively recent times. It has also provided a necessary preamble to the outline of the ideal-type model in the next section. The three particular features of public schools that set them apart from other types of schools can be summarized in point form:

(1) They are established and operated under the authority of a sovereign or semi-sovereign state.

(2) They enrol all the non-exempted, non-adult and non-infant persons permanently resident within the territiorial jurisdiction of the state, these being required to attend due to establishment of compulsory attendance legislation.

(3) The pupils attend at no direct financial cost to themselves or their households, the capital and operating costs of public costs of public schools being met by some form of universal taxation on all residents of the state.

As was indicated in the foregoing discussion, these three features are all highly interdependent and serve to represent the common solutions found in all societies to the technical problem posed by the adoption of a policy of universal child education.

THE MODEL

Public schools are manifest in many empirical forms both within and between legislative jurisdictions. Within Canada there are twelve sub-national governments exercising control over public education, and each has adopted differing policies which form and constrain the nature of the public schools operated within their jurisdictions. Differences are especially evident between empirical cases in organizational patterns, ages of pupils accommodated, types of curriculum employed and size. Differences between public schools operated in different countries may be even more marked. Even a cursory survey, therefore, would recognize many empirical variants, including open area schools, elementary schools, technical schools, comprehensive secondary schools and so on, and these run the gamut of size from one classroom to a hundred or more. This variety suggests that no one simple model can be representative of all (Corwin and Edelfelt, 1977:3-4).

The research design adopted for the study attempts to overcome the problem of building a representative model by employing the format of an ideal-type model. Comments on the nature, advantages and disadvantages of this type of construct were made in the exposition of the research design. At this point, it serves to reiterate that the model developed here is not meant to describe any particular school, but to reflect an image that is intended to represent the most characteristic features of public schools as a general form of social phenomenon. In attempting this the appropriate technique is to clearly identify these features and relate them to each other in what is taken to be the ideally typical case. In this way, the features of interest in the object under consideration are highlighted and, to some extent, exaggerated out of realistic proportions. The major penalty incurred in adopting this approach, is, as Weber (1947:90) notes, that the relationship of the model "to the empirical reality of the immediately given is problematical in every individual case." On the other hand, the particular advantage is that an analyst has a clearly specified conceptual model as a point of reference.

To some degree, the model presented here does not fully meet the criteria for an ideal-type as, in order to avoid dysfunctional generalities, the model reflects the features of public schools that were most common to the author and the context in which the study is written. For this reason, particular aspects of the model may be more typical of public schools in Ontario or Alberta than those elsewhere. At all times, however, an attempt has been made to retain a high degree of generalizability.

Governing Authorities of the Public School

In the ideally typical case there will be three external authorities concerned with the establishment and operation of public schools: (1) the legislative authority which is the government of a sovereign or semi-sovereign state; (2) a specialist administrative department of that government; and (3) a local authority.

The legislative authority. Public schools are established by a state to ensure that all pre-labour force citizens are guaranteed the opportunity to acquire what is considered to be basic and significant knowledge, at no direct cost to themselves or their families. Powers necessary to ensure the implementation of this policy will be specified in enabling legislation created and amended by the established government. This government may be a national, or, particularly in federal states, sub-national government, depending on which level has appropriated, or been accorded, jurisdiction in this policy area.

The enabling legislation governing the establishment and operation of public schools and the necessary administrative structure will, in the ideally typical case:

(1) specify that all residents of the state at and between the ages of six and sixteen will attend a public school or be provided with some other form of instruction acceptable to government administrators;

(2) provide for appropriate penalties to be levied against parents to ensure their compliance in ensuring that all their children attend schools;

(3) provide for a means of financing the operation of public schools established under this legislation, from some system of efficacious universal taxation;

(4) delegate and distribute powers between a central administrative authority responsible to the government itself and a number of local authorities.

The central authority. This will be a specialist government department headed by a minister of cabinet rank. In the ideally typical case, the enabling legislation will accord this body powers to:

(1) specify qualifications required by teachers and administrators employed in public schools;

(2) award and remove credentials enabling individuals to seek employment in public schools and specify any specialist training necessary for the award of these credentials;

(3) prescribe and amend the major elements of the curriculum to be taught in the public schools[1];

(4) examine or otherwise evaluate the knowledge acquired by the pupils enroled in any public school[1];

(5) specify credentials to be awarded to graduating pupils[1];

(6) inspect any public school, its program or teachers, and

(7) establish operational procedures and audits to ensure the adequate financing of the public schools.

In order to operate effectively in these areas, the central authority will employ a diverse and sufficiently numerous cadre of officials and may maintain regional offices if the size of the territory or a perceieved need for close supervision exists.

The local authority. The actual establishment and operation of public schools will be effected through a local authority established under the provisions of the enabling legislation, this agency being accorded administrative jurisdiction over public schools within territory defined by the legislative power or its ministry.

The local authority will be composed of a lay board of local residents elected by the enfranchised residents of the territory every several years. The board may be a semi-autonomous governing body under the authority of the central government, or it may be a sub-body of some form of municipal council empowered to govern the territory in question in a limited number of policy areas, and with limited powers specified by the central government. Whatever the case, this body will employ a permanent administrative staff headed by a chief executive officer, whose appointment is required by the enabling legislation. This individual will be appointed by, or his appointment will be subject to approval by, the central authority. In the ideally typical case the local authority will be accorded powers to:

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[1] There are several empirical instances that do not evidence these characteristics, one of which is the United Kingdom. Control and regulation of the curriculum in this case is effected through sets of externally set and evaluated examinations. The interpretation of the syllabi promulgated by the examining bodies being used by teachers and administrators to define the curriculum.

(1) establish public schools in appropriate areas of its territory;

(2) employ and dismiss teachers and other personnel as required;

(3) appoint principals in each of its schools;

(4) direct pupils to attend particular public schools operated by it;

(5) effect minor modifications and additions to the curriclum;

(6) perform all other administrative duties necessary to ensure the realization of the policies enacted by the legislative authority.

Participants in the Public School

As identified in the previous discussion, pupils and teachers are the major participants in schools. In the ideal-type public school a board appointed administrator is an additional participant.

Pupils in the compulsory age cohort. The main body of pupils will be all those six to sixteen years old residents in the geographical area served by the school, except for a small group who are excused attendance by the authorities. This minority will be composed of those judged to be unable to benefit from public school instruction due to mental or physical incapacities and those for whom their parents have secured some other form of education.

Voluntary pupils. In addition to the pupils who are compelled to attend, the ideal-type public school also enrols children who are over five years old whose parents elect for them to attend. In addition, free attendance at public school is offered to all permanent residents who have not attained the age of majority. This over-sixteen age cohort is of particular interest, for, while compulsory attendance lasts only ten years, it is a characteristic of the ideal-type public school that the formal curriculum requires twelve years of study for completion. Hence, only those pupils who remain in voluntary attendance after the age of sixteen can complete the full curriculum and gain a public school completion credential. This is important, for such credentials are always a prerequisite for entry to higher level professional and vocational schools that provide entry to the higher status positions in the environing society.

The enabling legislation specifies that all pupils in the ideal-type public school are required to be compliant to the legitimate instructions and commands of the teachers and the administrators, and this is enforced by tradition, community and family norms and by according teachers the right to the judicious use of force to attain compliance. Furthermore, the local authority is accorded the power to expel pupils for sufficient cause and the principal the right to suspend pupils for a limited time as a punishment for non-compliance to teacher instructions or school rules.

Teachers. All teachers in the ideal-type public school are required to hold a teaching credential awarded by the central authority, local authorities being prohibited from engaging persons as teachers who are not so licensed. This credential is only awarded on completion of a four year post public school cycle of study at a specialist tertiary level school approved by the central authority and teaching a curriculum sanctioned by this authority. In addition, the award of a teaching credential is subject to the prospective teacher being a citizen of the state and having no criminal convictions.

The teachers will be members of a representative association whose jurisdiction is coterminous with that of the state. This association will represent teachers in contract disputes or cases of alleged malpractice, and will impose a code of ethical conduct on all of its members. All public school teachers will be employed by local authorities and assigned to individual schools by this authority or its executive body. Terms of employment will be specified in a contract between each individual teacher and the board and conditions of employment, including salary, will be collectively negotiated by representatives of teachers and either the local or central authority.

The school administrator. One teacher in the public school will be appointed as the school administrator by the local authority. This individual will hold a valid teaching credential as well as additional qualifications specified by the central authority and will be the direct representative of the local authority and its administrative executive in the school. Contingent upon the size of the school, he may have a number of assistants. Duties will include the enforcement of all regulations and policies legitimately promulgated by each of the external authorities, the deployment and supervision of teachers assigned to the school, and liaison with external agencies including pupil households. The position of principal constitutes the highest status and authority position in the ideal-type public school and the lowest status and authority position in the administrative hierarchy responsible to the local and central authorities.

Curriculum and Instructional Organization

In the ideal-type public school, major elements of the curriculum will be specified by the central authority, and any modifications made locally will be subject to approval by this body. This formal program of studies will dictate both the formation and sequential arrangement of classes in the public school and thus its operational structure.

The public school curriculum. The formal program of instruction in the ideal-type public school will extend over twelve years, will be sequentially graded and branch into two parallel and independent bodies of knowledge after the ninth year. Each year of study will form a body of graded and sequential knowledge such that mastery of a given year's knowledge will be considered to be contingent upon successful learning of that contained in the program of study for each preceding year. Success in learning the knowledge contained in each grade will be judged by the teacher assigned to each class being instructed, through observation and testing of pupil behavior and through the occasional use of externally designed tests. However, pupils will normally be considered to have mastered the curriculum and content of any given year unless there is strong evidence to the contrary. Hence, the age of pupils in the ideal-type public school is highly correlated with the curriculum level being studied, classes being taught the first year of the curriculum containing a dominant majority of six year olds, and those studying at the seventh graded year being mainly composed of thirteen year olds, and so on.

Subjects studied will include those related to literacy and numeracy skills as well as folk and literary knowledge relating to social life, national heritage, elementary natural sciences, artistic development and appreciation and health practices and physical development. Great emphasis will be placed on literacy and numeracy skills in the earlier years of the curriculum, with more specialist knowledge being taught in higher grades.

Premises and Territorial Organization

As vehicles of mass education and socialization established through legislated state authority, public schools are required to enrol all children in the defined compulsory age cohort that are resident within the area served by each school. This ensures that public schools are never isolated phenomena, but will be distributed within a territory according to population densities. As is the case with all other schools, they will operate in specialized premises, these being, in the ideally typical case, constructed and maintained by the local authorities and centrally located within or between settlement areas.

Only in the smallest regional territory does the local authority operate a single public school, isolated settlements often being provided with public schools directly by the central authority. Thus, in the ideally typical case, several public schools will be operated by a local authority within its assigned territory, these forming a public *school system*. Economic and philosophical considerations may promote the local authority to establish schools specializing in particular curriculum levels or branches with the establishment of specialized elementary and secondary schools on separate premises being empirically common. Whatever the actual basis for organization and differentiation within a public school system, schools located on specialized premises will for the most part be taken as constituting an individual and distinct school with a particular name, character and staff. The environing neighbourhood or community from which this school draws its pupils will contribute to both the character and status accorded to a particular public school. Social class isolation and other systematic socio-economic differences between neighbourhoods and territorial communities will likely be associated with the financial resources allocated to the school and the proportion of pupils attaining a final graduation credential. Such differences are not easily accommodated within the ideal-type public school, except through observing that the operation of this school will be affected by such immediate environmental conditions.

Educational and schooling structures. In addition to being one of a system of other schools operated by a local authority, the ideal-type public school also forms part of a larger structure throughout the sovereign or semi-sovereign territory controlled by the legislative power. All the public schools within the jurisdiction of the state constitute what will be called a *schooling structure*. This schooling structure will form the lowest level of an extended educational system within the state and consume the greatest share of resources allocated by the government for the provision of education in the society and perform the function of selecting those that will proceed to higher levels of instruction within the broader educational system.

Summary

This section has presented the ideal-type model of public schools developed for use in the later analytical chapters. As noted previously, ideal-type models do not attempt to accurately reflect specific details that are associated with particular empirical cases and they deliberately exaggerate some aspects as being particularly important. To some degree, the model presented here may appear to be overly stylized and to ignore some features that are identified by others as being of importance. A similar criticism can be levelled at Weber's ideal-type models, but this does not necessarily invalidate their use.

The features that were stressed in the model developed in this chapter included the presence of central and local bodies that are accorded authority to establish and operate public schools by enabling legislation enacted by a sovereign or semi-sovereign government. A characteristic division of powers between the local and central authorities was outlined and the existence of public schools as members of regional school systems and state wide schooling structures noted. The presence of a twelve year curriculum which includes ten years of compulsory attendance was identified as characteristic as was state certification of teachers and administrators.

Figure 5:1 offers a schematic summary of the model. The public school is shown within its institutional setting which includes the

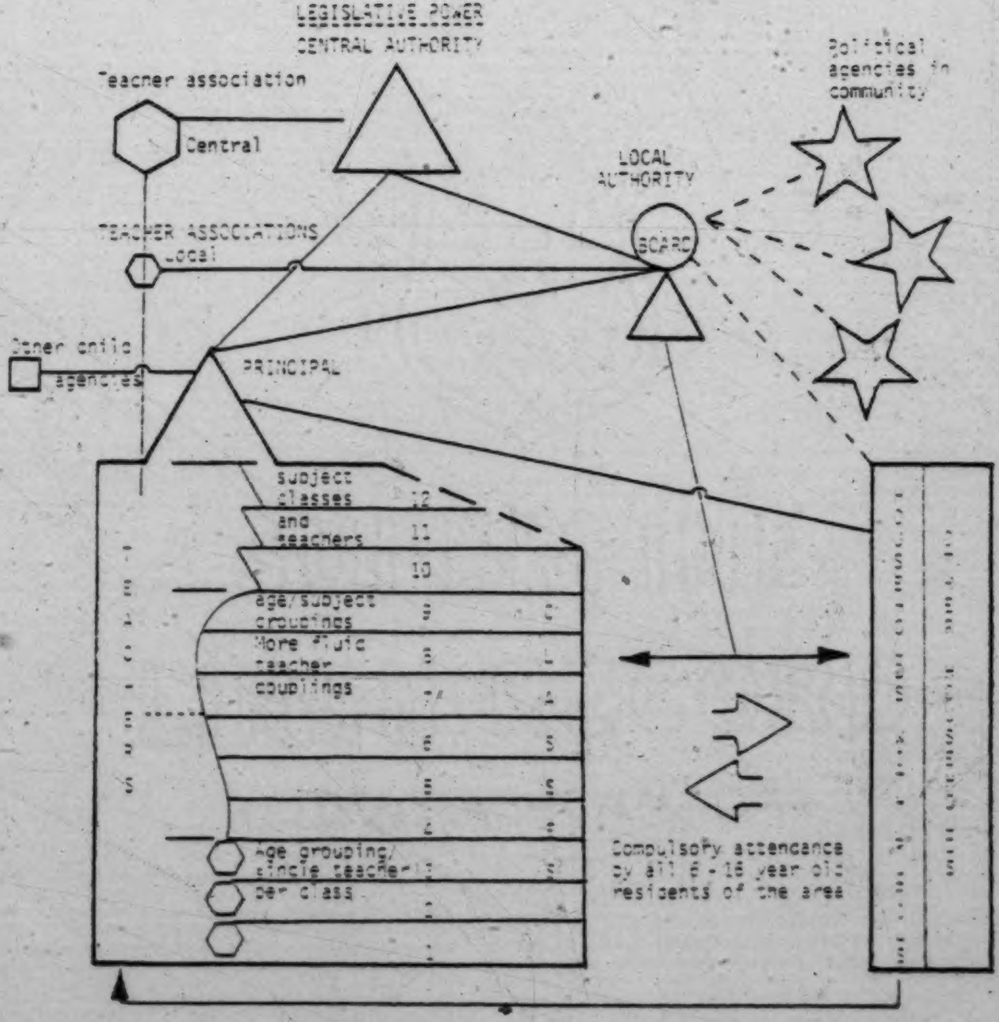
LEGISLATIVE POWER
CENTRAL AUTHORITY
Teacher association
Central
Political agencies in community
LOCAL AUTHORITY
BOARD
TEACHER ASSOCIATIONS
Local
Other child agencies
PRINCIPAL
subject classes and teachers
age/subject groupings
More fluid teacher couplings
Age grouping/single teacher per class
12
11
10
9
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
TEACHERS
CLASSES
Compulsory attendance by all 6 - 16 year old residents of the area

Figure 5:1

SCHEMATIC REPRESENTATION OF THE IDEAL-TYPE PUBLIC SCHOOLS central and local authorities and their executives, community households and political groups which can be taken as attempting to influence the established authorities in matters of curriculum, finance, overall goals and general operation. The twelve graded years of study defined in the prescribed curriculum are shown with characteristic differences between single teacher and multi-teacher class couplings. Pupil retention is assumed to approximate one hundred percent until age sixteen is reached, after which pupil retention is reduced.

THE ORGANIZATIONAL NATURE OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Introduction

This section attempts to identify the major organizational characteristics of the ideal-type public school. Major headings are taken from the taxonomy of organizational characteristics as given in Table 3:4.

Environment

It would seem necessary to recognize at least two major environmental sectors that are pertinent to all schools. On the one hand there is the society itself, which constitutes the general environment. On the other, the community or social system that is directly concerned with the establishment and operation of the school. Illustration of this distinction can be taken from the English public schools of recent centuries, the Grand Seraglio of the Ottoman empire, the West African bush schools and contemporary medical schools. In each of these cases the schools are embedded within the broader society but are tightly coupled to particular sub-systems in those societies: the English upper-middle and upper classes, the administrative system of the Ottoman empire, the occupational and mystic male or female communities of the West African tribes and the medical profession in contemporary states. It is primarily for the benefit of these sub-societies or communities that the schools mentioned are operated, for these serve to educate, socialize and select persons preparatory to their occupying positions in these social sub-systems. Hence the authoritative bodies which establish schools, determine entry requirements, sanction curricula and employ or establish the employment standards of the teachers, are representative of these differentiated communities. In Thompson's (1967) terms the specific environment of any particular school can be viewed as constituting the task environment.

General and task environments can also be distinguished in the case of public schools, but the overall picture appears more complex. If the major missions of the public school are taken to be the preparation of children to become adult members of the state and the selection of candidates for additional schooling, then both the state and those groups concerned with higher level schooling can be taken as the major constituents of the task environment. A two sector task environment may therefore be identified. The authorities established to govern and administer public schools constitute the immediate task environment, however, the organizations that represent occupational and professional groups and all kinds of third cycle schools constituting a more distant task environment. In fact, any organized group that can demonstrate or establish a legitimate concern with regard to the operation of public schools could be included in the "second level" task environment. This sector of the task environment can be viewed as representative of the organizations which eventually accept graduates of public schools into their membership. Given that they are to some degree dependent upon the operation of public schools, but have no direct control over the operation of these schools, then they will be required to present any concerns they have to the established authorities that represent the first level task environment. Thus, the local board, the central authority and in some cases the legislative body, will likely be subject to political action by chambers of commerce and other associations of employers, apprenticeship groups, unions and professional associations as well as universities, trade schools and community colleges. These relationships are sketched in Figure 5:2.

In addition, there is still the general social environment, which, due to the provision of public schooling over a large territorial area is best divided into state wide and local sectors. At the state level general and widespread societal concerns and values are of importance and will be expressed through the established media and political associations and parties concerned with the general social welfare. The potential for similar environmental forces is evident at the regional and local and neighbourhood levels, in which case the particular concerns of specific localities or culturally homogeneous groups will likely be of importance and exacerbated by the fact that public schooling is primarily a state governed activity intended to contribute to the general social good. Thus, regional and local concerns may run counter to the broader concerns of the society.

Within this multi-level and complex social environment the very

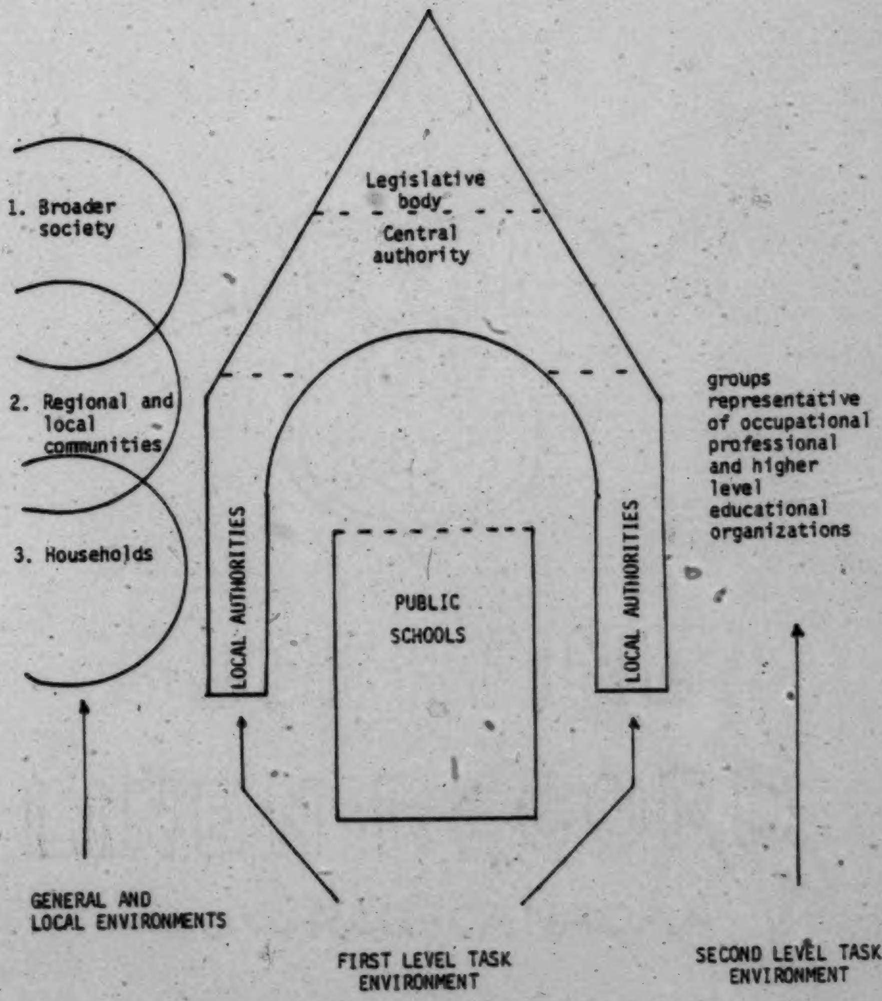
1. Broader society
2. Regional and local communities
3. Households
Legislative body
Central authority
LOCAL AUTHORITIES
PUBLIC SCHOOLS
LOCAL AUTHORITIES
groups representative of occupational professional and higher level educational organizations
GENERAL AND LOCAL ENVIRONMENTS
FIRST LEVEL TASK ENVIRONMENT
SECOND LEVEL TASK ENVIRONMENT

Figure 5:2

MAJOR ENVIRONMENTAL SECTORS THAT INFLUENCE PUBLIC SCHOOLS nature of public schools may well ensure that turbulence is the norm rather than the exception for they are financed through taxes on the wealth of the society at large, and thus all tax payers will, at least in democratic states, have a legitimate interest in their operation. Furthermore, the knowledge that is taught, or not taught, in public schools will likely be of interest to both the society as a whole and the representative groups that influence the task environment. Finally, the parents of the pupils enrolled in public schools have a particularly vital interest in their condition and operation. Implicit in the idea of compulsory attendance is the belief that some parents may not be capable of making adequate provision for the education of their children and thus the state must assume responsibility. This creates a set of conditions under which individual parents have little chance of influencing the schooling of their children, unless they choose to make alternate provisions for their children's education. Taken together with the feature that the teachers and administrators are primarily accountable to the employing authority and their professional associations, and that the progress of pupils will be evaluated against system and stucture wide criteria developed from the state sanctioned curriculum, it is evident that many parents may feel uninformed about, and relatively powerless with regard to, the schooling of their children.

The many forces and pressures generated within the multiplex social environment described are likely to impinge only tangentially on the public school itself, Action generated by political and representative groups in the specialized and broader social environments will likely be directed at the legislative and central authorities, and in particular cases local boards. Similarly, concerns of local residents and parent groups can be expected to focus mainly on the local authorities, as it is these that have the powers to effect change. Given the position of parents as outlined above, then, except for routine and problem matters, they are likely to be in little contact with the school itself.

Finally, it may be noted that public schools are likely to be much more sensitive to changes in the economic, demographic, legal and cultural environments than are most other types of schools by virtue of their complex environments. Sensitivity to demographic changes is well illustrated by the recent phenomenon of declining enrolments and the attendant effects. In a similar fashion public schools are also more intricately linked to an inter-organizational environment in which other state agencies such as police forces, child care agencies and social workers feature highly.

Formal Establishment

Little need be said under this heading as most of the salient points have been alluded to previously. Individual public schools will be established by the action of local authorities under the terms of reference established by the central authority in accordance with the provisions of the enabling legislation. The major logic underlying decisions to establish or close any public schools will relate to demographic distribution and financial resources. The major operational objective will be to ensure that sufficient space is available to accommodate all the child residents of the territories served at a reasonable and defensible cost. One major consequence of this is that public schools will never be formally disestablished, or otherwise closed due to poor teaching, failure to graduate an acceptable proportion of the original enrolment, or other shortcomings in the quality of operation. Staff may be replaced, alternate technologies instituted or other adjustments made, but, so long as an economically viable number of students remains resident in the area, space must be provided for them and the school will continue to function. This point and related ones that also stem from the particular nature of public schools are captured in Carlson's (1964) recognition of public schools as domesticated organizations.

Goals

Discussion of the goals of public schools, whether they appear in the scholarly literature, the popular media or take place in political arenas, are often less than specific. This has led Hasenfeld and English (1975:9-12) to posit that goal specification in human service organizations will be "problematical and ambiguous." This would certainly appear to be so if a detailed technical analysis of the goals and objectives of a number of public schools and their supportive structures is to be undertaken. However, functional imputation would suggest that there are a number of stable and operative goals common to all public schools: first and foremost they must ensure that all local residents of compulsory attendance age enroll and are encouraged to attend on a regular basis; second the major knowledge elements of the formally promulgated curriculum must be recreated in the minds of the students enrolled in the appropriate grades; and third, the pupils must be socialized into whatever values, norms, attitudes and beliefs are of significance to the state and, by virtue of the selection and control mechanisms governing the certification and employment of teachers, exemplified by the adult members of the school. Clearly a whole host of objectives, aims and sub-goals will exist as corollaries of these three major goals: attendance records must be kept, lessons must be prepared, pupil progress evaluated and undesirable behavior in the school discouraged. These can be taken as defining some of the major operational tasks of school members.

Functional analysis does not, however, aid in defining what knowledge will be taught, what values inculcated, what behaviors encouraged or what type of teaching strategies employed, and it is these and similar matters that usually provide the substance of discussions concerned with school goals. But, by virtue of the complex environment of public schools and their major social mission, specifics such as these will always be problematical and ambiguous. Both curriculum and method in public schools will always, at least in egalitarian societies, be issues for debate with varying ideologies, philosophies and epistemologies fuelling the demands of various representatives of the task, societal and local environments. Thus, the details of each of the three major goals - who must attend, what they must and must not be taught, and how and to what cultural elements they must be socialized - may be expected to be in constant, but not necessarily rapid, flux. Knezevich (1975:6-7) provides a valuable overview of the substantive goals of American public education from 1918 to 1966 which charts major changes in curriculum content and desirable values. This chart and general observation suggests that changes in specific goals in the public schools will occur at variable rates and in both an incremental and more sudden fashion depending on intellectual and philosophic "fashions" in the social environment. One of the major tasks of the central authority will be to sense these changing fashions and ensure that curriculum modifications are made as is appropriate while ensuring the broader policy needs of the state are not neglected.

With a context such as this, it seems possible that the formal curriculum in public schools will always represent a compromise that will rarely be fully acceptable to all residents of the state. That this may be so is suggested in the opinion survey conducted by Lauwery (1973) and the Phi Delta Kappa Gallup Polls. Out of Lauwery's (1973:18-19) 1,540 Canadian respondents, for instance, only 229 selected the curriculum as the "best feature" of their schools from four possible alternatives offered, while in the 1972 Gallup survey (Elam, 1973:136) only 21 per cent of the total sample identified the curriculum as a "particularly good" feature of their public schools. Although the 1979 Phi Delta Kappa survey (Gallup, 1979:34) did not include a comparable question, "Poor curriculum" was the fourth most frequently cited "biggest problem" of public schools identified by respondents.

Structure

The essentially cellular structure of schools is maintained in public schools but due to their size, the wide spread of maturation levels of students, and subjects studied, all of which are reflected in the curriculum, this structure may be particularly complex as well as being partially masked by the superimposed administrative hierarchy.

The major functional positions in this hierarchy are those of the principal and teachers, but contingent upon size and curricular level, public schools will also evidence a number of intermediate positions such as deputy principal, department heads and subject coordinators. The extent to which such positions represent discrete and substantive positions within this administrative hierarchy will clearly vary between empirical instances as a function of the authority exercised by the incumbents, but in the ideally typical case, most of these intermediary positions would seem to be of relatively minor importance in the formal structure of public schools. Department headships and similar positions discharge a coordinative function among the teachers of a given subject or grade division, and serve a supervisory function in the development and refinement of the curriculum, innovative programs and teaching methods. Vice, assistant and deputy principals are probably best viewed as assistants to the principal and as such cannot be easily conceptualized as forming a distinct level of what is often termed a relatively flat administrative hierarchy. However, the fact that public schools are never isolated phenomena but rather members of a wider school system and schooling structure provides for two extended hierarchies of authority. The first of these is formed by the major positions in the administrative organization of the school system, which will be, in the ideal-type situation, the regional superintendent, the chief administrative officer of the board and the local authority itself. The second more extended hierarchy will be that of the officials within the central authority, chief among whom will be the Minister heading this state agency.

Public schools will also, in the ideally typical case, evidence a number of staff positions such as counsellors, psychiatrists, curriculum specialists, together with a support organization of custodians, maintenance persons and clerical assistants. In all cases those engaged in such positions will be employed by the local authority and thus ultimately be accountable to this authority and its administrators, including the principals of each school. Members of the staff organization may be assigned to one school or discharge their duties in a number of schools while operating from the premises occupied by the administrative executive of the local board.

Authority

Major authority bases for public school teachers and administrators in their dealings with students would appear similar to those evident in the generic school: superior knowledge, tradition, the external support of parents and values and norms in the environing culture that encourage compliance to teacher expectations. The one major additional source of authority that is evident in the public school is the legal base provided in the enabling legislation and the regulations of the central and local authorities.

This authority base is of particular importance within the internal and external administrative hierarchies of public schools, for it forms the manifest basis for effecting the compliance of teachers and other adult members of the school. Thus required behaviors of teachers and administrators are specified in the enabling legislation and regulations made under its provisions as well as in the policies adopted by the local authorities. Disciplinary procedures and penalties for non-compliance will also be specified in this manner.

One additional point of interest is the authority that public school teachers may gain from their teaching expertise. The literature generally refers to this as "professional authority" and observes that professionalism may provide a basis for conflict between teachers and administrators (Hoy and Miskel, 1978:71).

Technology

The already described techniques for teaching subjectively new knowledge to medium sized groups would appear to define the core technology of schools. This involves the process of translating the curriculum into lessons and includes techniques employed to encourage and evaluate appropriately receptive student attitudes. In addition, there would appear to be a long-linked form of serial technology (Thomspon, 1967) concerned with facilitating the progress of students through the curriculum. In public schools it would also appear necessary to recognize a technology concerned with the control of students outside of the classroom. Within Woodward's (1965; 1970) typology of organizational technologies, the tasks and techniques used to effect the serial progress of students appears to specify a continual process type of technology, in that the students are progressing through an ordered and sequential process of learning and the necessary selection and routing decisions that will determine their pattern of study in the higher grades will be taken at a known time on the basis of established criteria and through the routine collection of evaluative information. However, the actual process of in-class teaching would appear to be more akin to Woodward's unit or small batch technology. In the ideal-type situation, the class teaching technology can be taken as occupying the majority of teacher and student time in public schools, but time must also be allowed for refreshment and recreation during the day. As the students are in the care of the adult members of the school under the principle of *in loco parentis*, it is clear that adequate provision will have to be made for their safety and supervision. In the ideally typical instance, this is done through the enforcement of rules and routines governing the use of specialized areas designated for these purposes, and supervised by a small number of the teachers on a rotating basis. Specialist areas in this case include lunch rooms, study halls, playgrounds and corridors within the school, in fact all the non-restricted, non-classroom space. Significant characteristics of the situations thus created are that the pupil to teacher ratio changes drastically from 25 to possibly 200 or more to one, the role of the teacher changes from instructor to supervisor and the role of the pupils from learners to members of what is to all intents and purposes a crowd that may threaten to become a mob. Waller (1961) is one of the few analysts to give specific attention to this situation in public schools and except for isolated studies such as that by Kelsey (1974) the technology required to effectively deal with the resulting tasks has received little attention. Kelsey's (1974) approach rests on conceptualizing the pupils as raw materials to be acted upon by the appropriate technology and this is probably appropriate in out-of-class settings where large bodies of pupils are gathered together. Certainly, the techniques commonly employed by teachers in these settings bear more than a passing resemblance to crowd control techniques and reinforce an image of pupils as raw materials. However, this may not be as appropriate when considering the technology employed in classrooms.

The status of pupils in the production process of public schools. The core technology of schools does not appear to be concerned with "working on" students, but rather with working on the knowledge defined in the curriculum. The "raw material" of schools may perhaps be better conceptualized as the knowledge presented by the teachers to the students in the classroom. In this view both the teacher and the students work with defined bodies of knowledge, the objective of the task being the acquisition of this "raw material" by the students. Hence, the workflow of schools can be conceptualized as the sequential streams of knowledge contained in the curriculum as this is manifest within and across grades and subjects. The deliberate socialization function of schools can also be conceptualized in a similar way if the desirable beliefs, attitudes and values to which the students are socialized is viewed as constituting a body of folk knowledge that is possessed by previously socialized members of the school, that is the teachers, and in some cases the relatively more advanced students. In this way, both the instructional and socialization functions of schools define two major role related tasks: on one hand the teachers have the task of preparing and presenting the curriculum knowledge to the students and exemplifying the appropriate values, norms and attitudes; on the other, it is the task of the students to learn the knowledge that is presented to them, and model their behavior after that of the teachers and other previously socialized members of the school.

By treating the workflow and "raw material" of schools as being defined by the knowledge that is taught and exemplified in schools, then it is necessary to accord the students membership status in the school organization. This is in contradiction with other views in the literature (Wheeler, 1966:57; Katz, 1964:440; Herriott and Hodgkins, 1973:89; Elboim-Dror, 1973), but it seems to be substantiated by the analysis in this chapter and broad recognition of students as members of an academic community in many types of contemporary and historical schools. It would also seem to be supported by the perceptions of the teachers themselves, who, at least in the studies by Waller (1961), Lortie (1975), Palonsky (1975), Becker (1971) and Wolcott (1973) do not appear to relate to their students as anything other than participants in a shared social experience.

Products

As with other schools, the products of public schools are the educated and socialized graduates. In the public case, graduation is signified by the award of a credential indicating the completion of the curriculum which will be issued either by the central authority and/or evaluative bodies representative of groups in the second level task environment. Because of the mass nature of public schooling, it is also necessary to recognize the pupils who fail to complete the full curriculum as products of public schools. Students who cease to attend after attaining the age of sixteen, and those who "drop out" later, fall into this latter category. The extent to which those who fail to complete the full curriculum should be viewed as unintended products of public schools is unclear given the selection and sorting procedures which are inherent in these schools.

Summary

Table 5:1 offers a summary of the major organizational features of public schools classified according to the taxonomy of organizational attributes used to guide this discussion.

TABLE 5:1

SUMMARY OF THE MAJOR ASPECTS OF THE ORGANIZATIONAL NATURE OF THE IDEAL-TYPE PUBLIC SCHOOL

Facet	Comment
ENVIRONMENT	The four major sectors of note are the two layer task environment, the general social environment and the local school environment.
FORMAL ESTABLISHMENT	By act of the local authority according to the principle of geographic entitlement.
GOALS	Enrolment, attendance and coverage of the formal curriculum.
STRUCTURE	Classes and teachers provide a cellular structure within a "flat" administrative hierarchy.
AUTHORITY	Main bases are tradition, knowledge, parental and social support, law and expertise.
TECHNOLOGY	"Batch" in classrooms, "process" in school workflow.
PRODUCTS	Certificated graduates and non-certificated drop-outs.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has sought to outline the distinctive features of public schools through the development of an ideally typical model. The approach taken attempted to seek the major ways in which public schools differed from the generic type of school described in the previous chapter.

In the first section of the chapter, the features of compulsory attendance, support through universal taxation and operation under the auspices of a state were cited as distinguishing features of public schools. The model itself was developed in the second section and summarized in schematic fashion in Figure 5:1. Attention was given to the organizational nature of public schools in the final section of the chapter. The taxonomy of organizational facets developed previously was used to identify and comment upon the organizational aspects of public schools. The features identified were summarized in Table 5:1.

In developing the ideal-type model in this chapter, the first major component for the analysis of the bureaucratic nature of public schools has been assembled. The following chapter develops the second model component - the reconstruction of Weber's model of bureaucracy.

Chapter Six

THE WEBERIAN IDEAL-TYPE BUREAUCRACY

For form of government let fools contest
What is best administered is best.
Alexander Pope

INTRODUCTION

Reference has been made to the various denotations and connotations of bureaucracy. This chapter attempts to provide a detailed outline of Max Weber's explanation of this form of organization. Most contemporary survey works offer a partial and at times incomplete interpretation of this model. For this reason, the present chapter draws almost exclusively on the Henderson and Parsons (1947) translation of the relevant sections in *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*. As Parsons' introduction and footnotes in this volume provide one of the more authoritative scholarly commentaries on Weber's writings, a convention is adopted in this and subsequent chapters in which a reference to Parsons (1947) indicates some aspect of his commentary, while a reference to Weber (1947) refers to the translation of his text, both sources being contained in the same volume.

In order to place Weber's model within its theoretical context, and better integrate the reconstruction made here, the chapter is organized in three sections. In the first, short comments on some salient aspects of Weber's sociology are offered, especially those that relate to his models of organizations. In the second section, the ideal-type bureaucracy is outlined and the third section presents his contrasting models of traditional and charismatic organizations.

MAX WEBER AND HIS SOCIOLOGY

One of the major problems associated with comprehending Weber's images and models is that of language. Several translations of his key works are available in English translation and many of these offer alternate renderings of key terms, some of which may communicate unintended connotations. While this chapter rests almost completely on the Henderson and Parsons (1947) translation and thus achieves a degree of continuity with other analytical works, occasional reference is made to other translations to clarify key terms. Furthermore, several of the basic terms are left in an untranslated form in order not to evoke contemporary English connotations which may distract from what is taken as the intended meaning.

The Setting for Weber's Writings

Weber's scholarship was deep and extensive. His various models of organization are but a small part of his sociological writing and these, in turn, are but a segment of his total work. One central theme that runs throughout his writings is that of seeking to describe, comprehend and explain the human condition, and his concern in this matter is by no means restricted to European or Occidental affairs or to the contemporary compass. He was a social historian of note and his investigation of culturally diverse economies and religions gives his work an anthropological depth that may be unsurpassed in the literature. This background provides an exceptionally broad and strong foundation for his notes on social organization, but it is, for the most part, an unreferenced and undocumented foundation, for he is wont to invoke cultural or historical references, the significance of which may not be immediately apparent to contemporary readers.

In addition to his broad knowledge of historical and social conditions, Weber developed an extensive body of social concepts that complement his models of organizations. For this reason, the section of *Economy and Society* dealing with *The Types of Authority and Imperative Coordination* (1947:324-423) in which the bureaucratic model is presented, cannot be taken in isolation from the rest of Part I of that volume. Hence, some comment on concepts developed elsewhere is relevant.

Verstehen. Weber (1947:107) defined the task of social study as beginning

> ... with the question "What motives determine and lead the individual members and participants in (a) socialistic community to behave in such a way that the community came into being in the first place and that it continues to exist."

In seeking to answer this question, Weber (1947:87-115) maintained that it was necessary for the analyst to suspend his own conceptions of cause, effect and rationality and attempt to divine and accept the rationality of the members of the social organization under analysis. This search for understanding through the interpreted "intended subjective meaning" of the actors is verstehen. Hence, a task of the social analyst is to attribute phenomenological meaning to "a given plurality of actors." Objectively verifiable social facts are seen as indispensible, but without verstehen, of little value. Sociology is thus defined as "... a science which attempts the interpretative understanding of social action in order thereby to arrive at a causal explanation of its course and effects" (Weber, 1947:88). The phrase "socialistic community" refers to any type of social organization and encompasses the reality of school, family and the abstract analytical referents of these: organization, primary group and so on.

Social action. Within this context, social action is taken as a subset of all human behavior, being that which "takes account of the behavior of others and is thereby oriented in its course" (Weber, 1947: 88) and includes "failure to act and passive asquiescence" (Weber, 1947: 112). Thus, action resulting from purely psychological or non-social environmental conditions is outside of Weber's delimited area of interest. This distinction is similar to that made in the Parsonian notion of social action (Parsons and Shils, 1951) and the concept of social as opposed to economic exchange theory (Homans, 1950; Jaques, 1976:248).

Types and typing. In the process of seeking insight and explanation, Weber made great use of classificatory schema and analytical models, and took for granted that it is necessary "to formulate type constructs and generalized uniformities" (Weber, 1947: 109). He (Weber, 1947:89) recognized two forms of generalized schema:

the typing which sought to represent the "average or approximate" nature of a phenomenon and that which represents "the theoretically conceived *pure type*." Pure types are of course ideal-types. These conceptually constructed and theoretically based models can clearly have no empirical form but remain as accentuated abstractions. Weber (1947:110) maintained that "theoretical analysis in the field of sociology is possible only in terms of such pure types." Hence he is constantly dealing with conceptual parameters, with limiting cases, rather than with empirically derived 'average' types such as those yielded through statistical research.

These pure types are developed so as to be used in analysis to identify and winnow out the salient features of the social phenomenon under study. Weber (1947:110) explains that the use of ideal types

> ... both abstracts from reality and helps us understand it, in that it shows what degree of approximation a concrete historical phenomenon can be subsumed under one or more of these concepts. For example, the same historical phenomenon may be in one aspect 'feudal' in another 'patrimonial'. In order to give meaning to these terms, it is necessary for the sociologist to formulate pure ideal types of the corresponding forms of action which in each case involve the highest possible degree of logical integration.

As is evident from this passage, Weber's method relies on the availability of several alternate pure types through which aspects of an empirical phenomenon in the appropriate logical class can be analyzed. His feudal, patrimonial and charismatic types are complementary to his bureaucratic type and each of these is developed for analysis of social structures which fall into the logical class of social phenomena termed organizations. As such, these are compound types which build on other ideal-types for the categorization and analysis of different forms of groups, authority and systems of order, and in each case Weber's types are ideal-types.

A further point of importance is Weber's use of the "type case." His development of compound ideal-types is based on a system of conceptual logic in which types of legitimate authority and their associated systems of order and types of social systems feature highly. In developing these ideal-types, he frequently cites a particular empirical referent as providing a 'typical' case of the ideal-type under consideration. An example is his (1947:151) citing of the state as the type case of a compulsory social association, this being defined as "an associative social relationship ... devoted to purposive activity ... such that the established order has, *within a given specific sphere of activity* been successfully imposed on every individual who conforms with certain criteria." Bureaucracy is itself offered as the type case of certain social systems in which a rationally based form of legal order obtains. Thus, in Weber's writings, bureaucracy *per se* is offered as a very apt example of a kind of social system and the ideal-type bureaucracy is developed to characterize its essential nature.

Conceptual Foundations for the Model

Weber's model of bureaucracy is a particular case of the type of social system he terms a *Betriebsverband*. In such systems the members act through and in accordance with a system of normative order which limits and legitimates the use of power by members and at the same time accords certain members the right to issue commands and expect obedience to these. Central to Weber's analysis of these systems is the concept of *Herrschaft*, and in particular legitimate

Herrschaft which constitutes *authority*. Each of these concepts will now be passed in review under the two main headings of legitimate social action and systems of order and authority in Betriebsverbände.

Legitimate Social Action.

Herrschaft. This term is translated by Parsons (1947:152) as 'imperative control' and by Runciman and Matthews (1978:38) as 'domination'. It is defined by Weber (1947:152) as "the probability that a command with a given specific content will by obeyed by a given group of persons." Specific reference is therefore made to the giving of an order within a particular social context. Weber (1947:153) stresses that imperative control may exist or be attempted in many situations, that is to say the giving of commands is not in itself restricted to particular persons or groups or a delimited set of social systems. Furthermore, imperative command is differentiated from power, which is defined as "the probability that one actor ... will be in a position to carry out his will despite resistance regardless of the basis on which this probability exists" (Weber, 1947:152), in that imperative command is specifically delimited to probable compliance to a *command*.

Authority. Although imperative control may be exercised in any social context, it is viewed by Weber (1947:153) as being absolutely necessary within those social systems that require active coordination. Organizations are prime instances of such systems, but not the only such. Families, tribes, nations and the classic example of two men carrying a ladder are all social systems that require active coordination and thus the exercise of imperative control. Weber (1947:325) is fully aware that members in such social systems may comply with commands issued by others for a wide variety of reasons, including custom, habit, affectual bonds, expediency, idealism or the expectation of material or other ulterior advantages. However, he maintains such individual motivations " ... do not, even when taken together, form a sufficiently reliable basis for a system of imperative coordination" such as that which will be necessary in an organization. What is required, suggests Weber (1947:328) is a belief in the legitimacy of the commands, and the right of certain individuals to give, and expect compliance to, these commands. "Legitimacy" refers to the propriety of a particular situation, act or context and a legitimate command is one that is perceived as "right and proper" in the given circumstances. Thus, if an imperatively coordinated social system is to operate effectively, it is necessary that *both* the givers and the receivers of orders share a common perception of what constitutes the legitimate exercise of imperative control in the given context. The existence and exercise of legitimate imperative control constitutes authority. Several factors contribute to determining whether an attempt to exercise imperative control is perceived as legitimate or not, but central to the discussion is the social context of such action.

Systems of order. The relevant aspects of the context will be defined by the *Ordnung* that is believed to exist. Parsons (1947:124) translates this as "system of order" and Runciman and Matthews (1978:35) as "system of regulations." The specific reference is to the system of normative elements to which an individual may orient his actions. These elements are referred to as "maxims" or "rules" by Weber (1947: 124), but as is made clear in Runciman and Matthews (1978:99-110) translation of "The Concept of 'Following A Rule'", Weber uses the term "rule" in a much wider sense than is usually common today. For Weber a rule refers to (among other things) "a 'norm' against which present, past or future events may be 'measured' in the sense of a value judgement." In this sense the term system of order refers to sets of normative rules such as may be contained within a body of criminal, common or natural law; a code of honour or ethics; a set of conventional standards of behavior, or the rules regulations and constitution of an organization. In the organizational context, therefore, the concept of a system of order includes both the formally established rules and regulations, and the informally established conventions and principles of behavior that may influence social relationships between members in certain situations.

Conventional rules. The distinction between "formal" and "informal" systems of order in a social system is made by Weber in terms of law and convention respectively. A system of order supported by *convention* is one in which deviation from the rules will "result in a relatively general and practically significant reaction of disapproval" whereas a system of order is

> ... called *law* when conformity with it is upheld by the probability that deviant action will be met by physical or psychic sanctions aimed to compel conformity or to punish disobedience and applied by a group of men especially empowered to carry out this function. (Weber, 1947:127)

Weber (1947:128) states that "the means of coercion is irrelevant" and may range from admonition to physical threats or actions. But although the type of action taken to enforce compliance is not decisive the "presence of a group of men engaged in enforcement" is. Hence, whenever a functionally specialized system of enforcement is evident in a social system, the system of order they uphold is 'legal'.

It is clear that actors in social situations may be subject to the rules embedded in more than one system of order and the influence this will have on their behavior may be personally and analytically problematical. Weber (1947:125) alludes to the conflictual situation produced when duelling was declared to be a criminal act, and some individuals continued to perceive the gentlemanly code of honour as still being valid, that is, legitimate in certain contexts. The situation in the Bank wiring room as described by Roethlisberger and Dickson (1939) is another relevant example as would be the dilemma faced by a soldier who is required to kill although his religion prohibits such acts. The particular point of interest in all the examples is that the conflicting systems of order are all 'legal' in the meaning given by Weber. That is, duellists face the prospect of "physical or psychic sanctions" from both the state and certain of their gentlemanly peers regardless of whether they accept or reject the challenge to defend their honour, as does the worker in the Bank wiring room and the soldier on the battlefield if they do not obey the relevant, but conflicting, rules. One consequence in these situations is that the actors will take account of all the systems of order that prevail and be influenced in their actions by the *legitimacy* they ascribe to each of these orders in the given context.

Legitimate systems of order. Weber (1947:130) considers that any system of order may be perceived as legitimate by those subject to it in four ways:

> a) by tradition; a belief in the legitimacy of what has always existed;
> b) by virtue of affectual attitudes, especially emotional, legitimizing the validity of what is newly revealed or a model to imitate;
> c) by virtue of a rational belief in its absolute value, thus lending it the validity of an absolute and final commitment;
> d) because it has been established in a manner which is recognised as *legal*. This legality may be treated as legitimate in either of two ways: on the one hand it may derive from a voluntary agreement of the interested parties on the relevant terms. On the other hand, it may be imposed on the basis of what is held to be a *legitimate authority over the relevant persons and a corresponding claim to their obedience*. (Emphasis added.)

The significance of the final sentence of this quotation cannot be overemphasised, for it serves as the logical link between these ideally conceived types of systems of order and the exercise of imperative control in organizations, but before making this link explicit, it is of value to pursue the types of order in more detail. "A belief in the sanctity of tradition" is cited by Weber (1947:131) as the most universal manner in which legitimacy is attributed to an order, but he (Weber, 1947:132) also notes that

> ... in a very large proportion of cases, the actors subject to the order are of course not even aware how far it is a matter of custom, of convention or of law. In such cases, the sociologist must attempt to formulate the (ideally) typical bases of authority.

This may be especially difficult when elements of rational belief and law are involved for such a situation involves the perennially difficult concepts of Wertrationalität and Zweckrationalität. The first of these terms denotes a sense of absolute value and ultimate ends (Parsons, 1947:78-79) and Weber cites the existence of systems of natural law to illustrate a system of order based on such rational beliefs. In contrast to this, Zweckrationalität denotes an element of calculability, especially as this relates to the rational selection of and between, means and ends.

These concepts are first introduced by Weber (1947:115-118) in his initial classification of types of action in which he makes it clear that traditionally, affectually and ideally motivated actions are all determinant in the sense that alternatives of action are not perceived to be available to the same extent as in the zweck-rational case. Thus, social action which is traditional is an "almost automatic reaction to habitual stimuli", while affectually based action is that in which "sordid or sublime" "impulses" are "satisfied". In the case of Wertrationalität, once the absolute value in question is accepted by an actor, then the appropriate behavior is almost automatically determined; dedication to "duty, honour, the pursuit of beauty, a religious call" or some cause may then lead to action that is pursued "regardless of possible cost", the appropriate action being, of course, that specified in the legitimate system of order associated with the absolute goals (Weber, 1947:116). In contrast to this, Zweckrationalität involves the "rational consideration of alternative results of employment of any given means, and finally, of the relative importance of different possible ends" (Weber, 1947:117). This type of social action, therefore, is characterized in the highest degree by a reliance on calculability.

Systems of Order and Authority in Organizations

In the sense that it is used in this study, an organization is what Weber (1947:153) refers to as a Betriebsverband. Both component terms of this compound word need attention.

Verband. Parsons (1947:145) observes that the concept of a Verband is "one of the most important in Weber's scheme" and translates it as "corporate group." Runciman and Matthews (1978:33) render it as association and translate Weber's definition as follows:

> ... a social relationship whose rules restrict, or exclude, those outside of it and within which there are particular individuals appointed for the specific purpose of securing the maintenance of its regulations. One or more of these will be the '*head*' or '*leader*', and in some cases there will also be an *executive staff* which will normally have delegated powers in appropriate cases.

These regulations form a system of order that is specific to the Verband and to which the members are expected to orient their actions. Furthermore, Weber (1947:146) stresses the necessity for "a person or persons in authority in these social systems" the presence of whom is "decisive because it is not merely a matter of action which is *oriented* to an order, but which is directed to its enforcement." Given the previous discussion, this quality makes it clear that the systems or order in Verbände will be based on "law" rather than convention. Thus, the chief or head of a Verband, be this a "head of a family, the executive committee of an association, a managing director, a prince, a president, the head of a church" has as one of his tasks the administration, regulation and enforcement of the rules that govern the acts of members. The leader may or may not have the assistance of others in this task, and the rules in question will only be relevant to the members of the Verband, who will "by virtue of their membership" be subject to authority. In this case, therefore, the fact of membership in a Verband provides a basis for legitimacy to be ascribed to the system of order.

Betrieb. The concept of Verband embraces many forms of social system which were recognized as non-organizations in a previous chapter. A Betrieb is "a system of continuous purposive activity of a specified kind" (Weber, 1947:151) and this is obviously translated by Parsons as "organization", although Runciman and Matthews (1978:37) prefer the term "enterprise." However, it is the Betriebsverband, that is a closed corporate group engaged in some form of continuous purposive activity, that is the concept of most interest. Such social systems are considered to be characterized by the presence of "an administrative staff devoted to such continuous purposive activity."

Within the current organizational literature there is, as previously noted, a strong tendency to define organizations in terms of the pursuit of goals. Defined in this manner, organization is equivalent to a Betrieb. However, one of the major concerns of the literature is the process of administration within organizations, and hence the main focus of attention is on what Weber terms Betriebsverbände. The distinction between the two is significant. A Betrieb need have no particular structural features and could consist in the most simple form as a small group of artisans engaged in the continuous production of goods for profit. In contrast, the Betriebsverband will evidence a chief, head or leader, an administrative staff *and* a subordinate group of workers, members or "subjects" (Albrow, 1970:40). Furthermore, the major functions of the administrative staff will be (1) to regulate and enforce the system of order of the Betriebsverband, that is to say they will constitute the "group of men especially empowered to (apply) ... physical or psychic sanctions aimed to compel conformity or to punish disobedience" as "measured" against the rules embodied in the system of order, and (2) to exercise imperative control in order to further the "continuous purposes" of the organization.

Usage of the term Betriebsverband. Despite the similarity between Betriebsverband and the type of social systems which are currently studied as organizations, it is clear that the two terms are not completely congruent. For this reason, the German term will be retained in this study in order to clearly refer to the trichotomous structure of these systems. Weber also uses the term to refer to the state and many historical systems of domination which do not equate with the modern concept of the nation state. In these forms of social system, it is the ruling agency such as a parliament, king, despot, tribal chief or satrap that forms the governing sub-system; the various bodies of enforcement, such as the police, judicial system, ministry of taxation, personal body guards, retainers or henchmen form the administrative staff and the citizens or subjects the lowest level in the Betriebsverband. Social systems such as these are not "organizations" as the term is employed in this study, but occasional reference will be made to these types of system for illustrative purposes.

Authority in the Betriebsverband. By definition, a Betriebsverband will be engaged in purposive activity that requires the coordination of its members and one of the main purposes of the administrative staff will be to issue commands to secure such imperative coordination. Technically, and as remarked previously, members may comply with these orders for a variety of disinterested and personal motives, but as these are considered to be insufficient to guarantee the effective operation of the enterprise, imperative coordination in Betriebsverbände will take the form of authority which means that members must be encouraged to perceive and believe that the commands and the manner in which they are given are legitimate. Weber's scheme suggests that this will be done in two ways. (1) The system of order that is specific to the Betriebsverband will be accepted by at least a majority of the members as legitimate. This legitimacy may be ascribed by the members on the basis of any of the four grounds identified. Furthermore, whatever the believed base of legitimacy, all systems of order in all Betriebsverbände will *ultimately* rest on the use of sanctions by the administrative staff against members. (2) The legitimate use of imperative command by the administrative staff will be determined conformity to the system of order *and* by the operational basis on which this authority is exercised.

Weber's famous typology of legitimate authority is relevant in this respect. These three ideal-types of authority are related to the ideal-type systems of order but represent the operational grounds for the exercise of imperative control. The three types of authority are those that rest upon (Weber, 1947:328):

> 1. Rational grounds - resting on a belief in the 'legality' of patterns of normative rules and the right of those elevated to authority under such rules to issue commands (legal authority).
>
> 2. Traditional grounds - resting on an established belief in the sanctity of immemorial traditions and the legitimacy of the status of those exercising authority under them (traditional authority).
>
> 3. Charismatic grounds - resting on devotion to the specific and exceptional sanctity, heroism or exemplary character of an individual person, and of the normative patterns of order revealed and ordained by him (charismatic authority).

In attempting to understand the relationship of these authority types to the four types of system of order, it should be noted that the second part of each of the definitions refers to the nature of the logically related normative rules appropriate to each type of authority. Authority legitimated on 'rational' grounds is given as associated with a system of order that has 'legality'. Weber's use of quotation marks to indicate that this use has a subtle difference in meaning from that previously given is of the highest importance in attempting to fully understand this type of authority. In this case, it is the zweckrational quality of legal systems of order that is stressed and Weber is specifically refering to a system of universalistically established and applied rules that have a high degree of calculable rationality. Traditional authority is related to a system of order that enshrines immemorial rules; charismatic rules are established by an individual who demands acceptance of absolute values on primarily affectual grounds.

The second point of importance is Weber's (1947:130) previous instance that legal legitimacy for a system of order may be based on voluntary acceptance or a recognition of what is held to be *legitimate authority*. In this usage, 'legal' has the original meaning of 'potential for enforcement' and is conceptually distinct from the first ideal-type of authority identified by Weber. Logically, Weber's scheme allows for a single actor, or some or all of the members of a Betriebsverband, to accept the specific rules governing their behavior as legitimate because they accept the legitimacy of superordinates to exercise legal, traditional or charismatic authority in the process of securing imperative coordination. Thus, three situations of particular interest are defined in terms of legal-traditional, legal-charismatic and legal-'legality', or as it is termed by Weber, *legal-rational* authority. Each of these compound types of authoritative situations refers to the legitimacy of a system of order as imposed and enforced by the exercise of a particular type of authority. The point of confusion is the third type noted here, for legal-rational authority is an inherently confusing and misleading term in that two denotations of 'legal' are involved - the ability to enforce the rules in the system of order and the nature of those rules. All systems of order in Betriebsverbände will be legal in the first sense, but only in certain types of Betriebsverbände will the rules themselves be of the intellectually rational type. In the legal-traditional type, the rules will be those handed down from the past; in the legal-charismatic type those revealed by a particular person.

Multiple systems of order and verstehen. At this point it is clear that Weber's scheme offers a complex but potentially rich system of analytical levels and types. This is especially so when it is remembered that the principle of verstehen allows for any members in a Betriebsverband to ascribe legitimacy to a system of order and to the use of authority in the organization on differential grounds. In a public school, for example, some teachers may ascribe legitimacy to the system of order "by virtue of (Wert) rational belief in its absolute value", others on the basis that this is the way things have always been done and yet others because they perceive that the local board has the authority to terminate their employment if they do not comply. The fact that the board has the same legal authority over all of its employees may be of little consequence to those that attribute legitimacy to the order on the basis of idealism or tradition.

Further complexity is assured in that members in a Betriebsverband may acknowledge the legitimacy of more than one system of order in different contexts. Thus, rules may exist to judge the propriety of teacher and pupil behavior in classrooms, corridors, the staff lounge, in faculty meetings and parent-teacher conferences, and these rules may form part of an externally imposed or an internally agreed or an environmentally prevalent system of order or several of these. But, while more than one system of order may exist for the actors, Weber's method relies on two criteria to distinguish those that are of primary importance in analysis. The first of these depends on determining which systems of order have the status of law rather than convention, that is, what rules will be capable of enforcement. The second attempts to determine the nature of the 'official' system of order. This second criterion rests on Weber's (1947:325) recognition that "every system (of order and authority) attempts to establish and cultivate the belief in its legitimacy." Thus, the 'official' systems of order, that is those which define the rules specific to the pursuit of the organization's purpose and the exercise of authority under these rules, will be presented to members in such a way so as to appeal to certain of the recognized types of legitimacy. It is on this basis that the ideal-type model of bureaucracy is presented by Weber, for he (1947:325) argues that "according to the kind of legitimacy which is claimed, the type of obedience, the kind of administrative staff developed to guarantee it, and the mode of exercising authority, will all differ fundamentally" and define different types of organization.

Summary

The complexity of the concepts presented and developed above defies succinct summary. Weber's schema for the description and analysis of different types of social action, organization, systems of order and authority, all provide points of relevance to this study and these are inter-related in his work to produce several sets of compound analytical types. Among the points of particular saliency are (1) the trichotomous structure of Betriebsverbände, (2) the existence of systems of order in these types of organizations which will specify (3) rules for the action of members, and (4) allocate and delimit the use of authority. The nature of authority itself, which is presented as (5) the legitimate giving of commands, this legitimacy resting on (6) three ideal-type grounds and serving to (7) enforce the rules in the system of order, while gaining legitimacy through the formal system of order itself.

WEBER'S IDEAL-TYPE BUREAUCRACY

The famous ideal-type model of bureaucracy is offered by Weber (1947:329-341) as a pure type case of a Betriebsverband in which a legal-rational system of order obtains. It is the first of the three compound ideal type social systems in *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, and developed before the others because Weber (1947:329) recognised it as "the specifically modern type."

It is important to note that Weber (1947:329) applies his description of bureaucracy to the *administrative staff* of Betriebsverbände. Several forms of governing sub-systems are discussed, including representative and amateur groups, but in the pure case the bureaucratic form is considered as having a single chief and is thus described as "monocratic." Scarcely any attention is devoted to the nature of the member-client or 'subject' sub-systems. In contrast, his treatment of the nature of the administrative staff, which he presents as *the* bureaucracy, is extensive and detailed.

The Bureaucratic System of Order

The essence of Weber's model lies in the manner in which the legitimacy of the bureaucratic system of order is established. Weber (1947:329-330) maintains that this legitimacy is based on the acceptance of the validity of five interdependent principles.

1. Establishment and amendment of rules. As given by Weber (1947:329), the first fundamental of a bureaucratic system of order is that:

> ... any given legal norm may be established by agreement or by imposition, on grounds of expedience or rational values or both, with a claim to obedience at least on the part of the members of the (organization).

In other words, the members of the bureaucracy will accept that any rule or fundamental principle justifying a set of rules governing their behavior may be established by negotiation or mutual agreement, or may, when there are expedient or calculably rational grounds, be established by administrative fiat, and in every case these rules will be accepted as binding on the membership. This principle includes the initial establishment of the constitution and charter of the bureaucracy and the formulation of new rules or amendments. The technical process by which amendments and new rules are to be made is not specified by Weber in this passage, but elsewhere he makes it clear that majority voting will be an appropriate method for the establishment of new rules. The reference to mutual agreement about rules and the jurisdiction of rules has specific relevance to (1) the recruitment of new members who, when they accept employment are assumed to accept the established rules as a condition of employment, and (2) a situation where a superordinate may establish behavioral and performance criteria in discussion with a subordinate.

2. Abstract principles. The second criterion for legitimacy rests on a recognition that the rules established in the system of order will be in the form of "a consistent system of abstract rules which have normally been intentionally established" (Weber, 1947:330). The two main points here are that (1) the system of order will be logically consistent and capable of intellectual analysis and that (2) it will have been established in a deliberate fashion, which, given the conditions in point (1) above ensures that the rules will not be based on the personal whim of the promulgators or some arcane and mystic basis of tradition. That the rules are capable of intellectual analysis and evidence logical consistency provides that the administration and application of these rules will rest on interpretation of general principles and the application of these to particular cases. In Weber's terms, therefore, administration in a bureaucracy is Zweckrational in that the assessment of alternatives

and the calculation of consequences will be encouraged. It is worthy of note that this principle is in direct contradiction to the blind obedience to specific rules which is connoted in the perjorative image of bureaucracy. A high degree of "programmed" behavior such as that associated with specific inflexible rules, is, in Weber's scheme, more appropriate to traditionally based systems of order, or those based on the unreasoning acceptance of absolute values.

3. The office. The specification of the objects of the organization and the rules governing how these are to be achieved as specified in the system of order are to be understood as defining sets of tasks, functions, obligations and responsibilities which define a number of "offices." These functional positions will define the structure of the bureaucracy and have associated with them a certain status and authority. The third point relating to the legitimacy of the bureaucratic order is that these offices are perceived by members as being analytically and operationally distinct from the individual incumbents. Separation of the office from the person of the incumbent is part of what Weber means by the impersonality of the bureaucratic order: the rules are not dependent upon the person of the bureaucratic officials but the function of the offices they occupy. This principle is extended to the use of authority and is held to apply to the member(s) of the governing sub-system as well as the administrative staff.

4. Loyalty to the order. A corollary of point (3) is that members of the bureaucracy owe allegiance and obedience to the rules of the organization and not to particular members. One consequence of this is that office holders will be, in the ideally typical case,

unable to obtain the compliance of subordinates in the execution of tasks that they are not required to perform according to the terms of the system of order that applies to them.

5. Obedience to the law. The final principle of legitimacy in bureaucracies is that subordinates only comply to authority in their "capacity as a 'member'" (Weber, 1947:330). This is to say that obedience is based on the organizational relationship rather than other relationships that may obtain outside the organization. Subordinates obey because they are subordinates rather than a friend or a fellow Mason or a neighbour of the official who gives orders. Furthermore, in conformity with the preceding principles, it is the rules of the impersonal order that are obeyed, not the person.

Summary. These five principles provide the fundamental postulates on which Weber builds his model and many of the structural and consequential features of the model can be deduced from these if the theoretical context discussed previously is used as a point of reference. However, the major import of these five principles is that they provide the basis by which legitimacy of a bureaucratic system of order may be cultivated, and judged. An administrative corollary of this is that the 'bureaucratization' of an empirical organization could be gauged in terms of the extent to which these principles are recognized in the day-to-day administration of the organization and the resolution of disputes.

Structural Consequents in the Monocratic Ideal-Type

Five major structural characteristics of the bureaucracy are embedded in Weber's notes:

1. Spheres of competence. Every individual member of the bureaucracy is held to have the obligation to perform "functions which have been marked off as systematic division of labour" (Weber, 1947:330). Given the principles pertaining to legal systems of order, each individual will, of necessity, be provided with the authority necessary to discharge these functional obligations which means, in the final analysis "that the necessary means of compulsion" will be available to him. Because of the intellectual rationalism of the system of order, these will be "clearly defined and their use subject to definite conditions" (Weber, 1947:330). These spheres of competence will form the major functional components of the "offices" in a bureaucracy.

2. Hierarchy. The offices will be hierarchically arranged in that "each lower office is under the control and supervision of a higher one" (Weber, 1947:331). In his exposition of this point, Weber pays most attention to the manner in which hierarchical organization allows for appeals and the resolution of grievances, and he notes that the system of order may embody various principles in this matter. The necessity of guaranteed appeal procedures is of importance given the necessity for officials to interpret and apply general principles to specific cases as room for error will naturally exist and some means of resolution will be necessary.

3. Technical competence. Weber (1947:331) observes that if the application of the rules which govern the technology and general conduct in the bureaucracy is to be accurate and fully in accord with the Zweckrationalität principles that obtain, then the officials will be required to have received specialist training. This is consistent with his (Weber, 1947:339) later observation that "Bureaucratic administration means fundamentally the exercise of control on the basis of knowledge." Hence the bureaucratic employee will be a qualified specialist in those matters concerning his sphere of competence.

4. Separation of ownership. In bureaucracies the principle of impersonality in the sense of separating the person employed from his official function is extended to a denial of "ownership of the means of production or administration." Officials are not only denied personal use of authority but also personal use or control of the 'non-human' elements of the organization. An extension of this principle applies to the very premises on which organizational work is done. Hence it is necessary for the official to 'go to work' rather than 'work at home' and, as with all other non-human elements of the organization, the premises will be owned by the corporate organization itself.

5. No appropriation. Not only is ownership of the elements of the organization denied to the official, but he is also denied any opportunity of appropriating any degree of 'ownership' of his position in the organization that may provide an additional personal benefit. Thus, tenure or any other rights to office are not characteristic of a bureaucracy except when such a guarantee of employment is sanctioned

by principles in the system of order that are relevant to the objects of the bureaucracy. This particular case is illustrated by Weber with a reference to the position of judges but a more relevant example in this study is that of tenure enjoyed by university faculty. This type of guaranteed employment is acceptable in that it is necessary for professors to have no fear of dismissal if they are to be fully free to pursue the critical and investigatory approach to the pursuit of knowledge which is pre-eminent in the system of order held to exist in universities.

Technological Features

Apart from the continual reference to the exercise of imperative coordination through the administration of the system of order, Weber makes little reference to the technology of bureaucracies. One exception to this is his (Weber, 1947:332) insistence that:

> Administrative acts, decisions and rules are formulated and recorded in writing, even in cases where oral discussion is the rule or is even mandatory. This applies to preliminary discussion and proposals, to final decisions and to all sorts of orders and rules.

This passage serves to stress that the major tasks in bureaucracies will involve discussions, the development of proposals, the taking of decisions and the recording, reading and filing of these. It is worth noting that the emphasis on written records of these activities is justified by the bureaucratic system of order in that rational administration cannot take place unless the various officials have identical guides to action on which to base their knowledge of what is desirable and what is the required outcome. One of the particular advantages of literary knowledge is that it allows for exact duplication of a rule, decision or record of an act, and for many persons to share this knowledge in that they have access to an empirical object, rather than the verbalized perceptions of observers and participants. Thus the standardized formulation of knowledge provides the main basis for control and the resolution of appeals in bureaucracies.

A further point is that the "combination of written documents and the continuous organization of official functions" related to these serves to further define the "bureau", that is, the bureaucratic office (Weber, 1947:332).

Characteristics of the Bureaucratic Official

The members of the administrative staff are described by Weber (1947:333-4) as being characterized by a number of features logically related to those discussed.

1. Appointment. All bureaucratic officials are appointed to their positions rather than obtaining the office through inheritance, election or purchase. This feature is of great importance to Weber's model in that it ensures that officials will be employees who may be dismissed if necessary. Together with the system of order itself and the employment contract, this ensures that the official can be "subject to strict and systematic discipline and control in the conduct of his office" (Weber, 1947:334).

2. Selection. Because technical competence is required and because bureaucratic officials are appointed persons employed in bureaucracies, they will, in the ideally typical case, be selected from a number of applicants on the basis of examinations or the possession

of credentials certifying appropriate training.

3. Free contract. The principle of free selection on the basis of competence is further extended in the feature of an employment contract which is 'free' in the sense that either party may enforce the provisions of the contract or terminate the contract under the terms specified. The terms of this contract form part of the system of order under which the employee accepts the exercise of authority in the organization.

4. Fixed salary. Remuneration for officials will be in the form of fixed salaries paid in money with the "salary scale primarily graded according to rank in the hierarchy" (Weber, 1947:334). This feature stresses salaries, rather than wages in the sense that remuneration is based on the value of the official to the organization rather than the amount of work he does or output he produces. The insistence on payment in money continues the principle of impersonality in that no additional payment in kind or some other form which could allow for personal appropriation or influence over the operation of the bureaucracy, is recognized.

5. Career. Three interdependent features of employment in a bureaucracy define the characteristic of a career for the officials. Firstly, employment by the bureaucracy constitutes "the sole or at least the primary occupation" of the official and thus "part-time" or amateur administration is discouraged. Second, there will be a system of promotion by which the employee can advance "according to seniority or achievement or both." Thirdly, the promotion of an official will be "dependent upon the judgement of superiors" (Weber, 1947:334). These features provide for extra rewards for good or valuable service, an

additional incentive to uphold and obey the system of order and ensure that valuable knowledge and expertise will be retained in the organization.

Governance.

The details noted to this point refer to the administrative staff of a bureaucratic Betriebsverband, the 'purest' type of which will have a monocratic form of governance sub-system. The single supreme chief in this type of organization will occupy his position "by virtue of appropriation, of election, or having been designated for the succession" (Weber, 1947:333). Nonetheless, Weber considers that even this supreme authority will be defined in the form of a sphere of legal 'competence', that is to say the system of order prevailing will both specify and limit the powers available to him and the procedures to be followed in certain situations.

Collegial governance. Weber (1947:336, 392-404) provides an extended discussion of a number of collegial systems of both bureaucratic and traditional governance. This discussion lacks the clarity and precision of his outline of bureaucratic systems of administration and suffers from a mixing together of inductively based descriptions of committees and cabinets associated with empirical instances of both bureaucratic and traditionally based organizations. Furthermore, Weber (1947:336) was of the opinion that collegial bodies were "rapidly decreasing in importance" in favour of monocratically governed organizations. It would appear that in this he was mistaken, at least in terms of mainfest structures, as is witnessed by the contemporary emphasis on participatory democracy. Several points from his discussion of collegial bodies are of importance.

1. Limitation of powers. Collegial bodies are of the most importance for Weber in that they allow for checks and balances to be imposed on the operation of bureaucracies: "A bureaucratic organization may be limited, and indeed must be, by agencies which act on their own authority alongside the bureaucratic hierarchy" (Weber, 1947:392). Three possible functions are recognized for such bodies: (a) they may monitor the degree to which bureaucratic employees are following the rules in the system of order; (b) they may have a monopoly in the establishment of rules, especially those which "define the limits of (the) independent authority" of officials. It should be noted here that a distinction is being made between technical rules, that is rules relating to how work is to be done, and behavioral rules which involve the giving and receiving of commands; (c) of most importance, however, is a monopoly on the means which are necessary for the administrative function. The prime referent here is to the budget, but this could also be extended to include the engagement of key personnel, the purchase of equipment and the expansion of premises.

Several reasons are given by Weber for the establishment of collegial bodies with limiting powers but they may be reduced to two cases. In one, the supreme authority of a bureaucracy or a superordinate Betriebsverband, such as the state, may establish collegial bodies to ensure control is maintained. In the second case, elements of the wider society, such as political groups or socially privileged classes, may strive for, and attain, the creation or recognition of collegial bodies to protect their specific interests. In contemporary times it would appear that both of these functions are often melded together with the state often being guided by the rule that bureaucracies should be subject to some control and influence by representatives of the major social sectors which are affected by their operation.

2. Structural location. Weber is somewhat unclear about the articulation between a controlling collegial body and the bureaucracy itself, but three particular configurations may be noted. (a) A collegial body may constitute the governance sub-system of a bureaucracy. (b) The governance sub-system may consist of a collegial body and a single chief official who has monocratic control over the bureaucracy, but who must be guided by the policies and rules established by the collegial body. (c) One or more collegial bodies may exist along side the bureaucratic hierarchy itself, with particular officials serving as links to the administrative structures. Major decisions may have to be referred to the appointed collegial body, and it may have powers of intervention. It would seem likely that case (c) could exist together with case (a) or case (b).

3. Decisions. Weber (1947:393) acknowledges that when collegial bodies exist in a limiting or advisory function, "their acts are subject to the rule that a plurality of individuals must cooperate for the act (of the collegial body) to be valid." This cooperation may follow the principle of "unanimity or of decision by majority." As previously alluded to, Weber considers that the majority vote will be the most likely method of procedure in a bureaucratic setting because of its specifically legal nature.

4. Division of powers. It is clear from the above notes that the essence of collegial bureaucracies is that there is a functionally

specific separation of powers between the officials and the collegium or between a number of collegia. This is considered as always involving some kind of "constitution". Weber (1947:404) observes that "It follows that in questions which involve two or more authorities, it is only by means of a compromise between them that legitimate measures can be taken." For this reason, Weber (1947:405) considers that "the constitutional separation of powers is a specifically unstable structure" in that it may occur that the individual and intransigent collegia may be unable to reach agreement on matters of pressing importance.

Consequents Deduced from the Model

Weber (1947:337-341) offers a number of consequential features that stem from the features of bureaucracy outlined in his model.

1. The superiority of knowledge. Because bureaucracies are based on administration through the use of expert knowledge and the technology and employment patterns serve to concentrate valid and vital knowledge in the officials and the files they have access to, Weber considers that the "trained permanent official" will have more effective control than the collegial bodies that may exist to limit his power or even the monocratic chief himself, for the official will have more relevant technical knowledge than "his nominal superior, the Cabinet minister, who is not a specialist."

2. Social effects. Two essentially counter-balancing effects on social structure are noted. Firstly, a tendency to dissolve a

previously firm class and status structure as a result of seeking the "broadest possible basis of recruitment (of officials) in terms of technical competence" (Weber, 1947:340). Reliance can no longer be placed on the privileged or aristocratic classes to provide administrative manpower, due to the need for technical specialists. Counter to this, however, will be a growing emphasis on "plutocracy" because of the necessity of would-be bureaucratic officials to finance an extended period of education.

3. Utilitarianism. The impersonal system of order, the delimited spheres of competence and authority, the distinction between private and official life, the emphasis on contractual obligations, specialized competencies and written documents all contribute to encourage officials to perform their duties "*Sine ira et studio*" - devoid of emotion or enthusiasm. Utilitarianism becomes the watchword for,

> The dominant norms and concepts are those of straightforward duty witout regard to personal considerations. Everyone is subject to formal equality of treatment .... This is the spirit in which the ideal official conducts his office.
> (Weber, 1947:340)

Summary

Taken together, these features present a structural model in which the key elements are specified spheres of competence and authority, defining offices which are tightly coupled to each other in a hierarchical pattern and bonded together by an impersonal system of legal order manifest as a set of intellectually calculable rules. Office holders contribute to the organization's goals by acting only within the spheres of competence and authority associated with the office to which they are appointed as a consequence of acquiring the required training. Such appointment is through a contractual relationship which ensures employment benefits and binds the official more closely to the system of order but protects individual freedom in private affairs. The workflow is in the form of written documents and any personal control or ownership of these or the means of producing them is denied to the officials as is any right to personal control of the office itself. Within the structural context of the Betriebsverband, Weber's notes on bureaucracy are limited to the administrative sub-system. His few comments on the worker sub-system in *Economy and Society* are mainly in his discourse on economics (1947:158-323) and feature several references on the promise offered by the "Taylor system", that is scientific management, which he clearly saw as the most promising method for increasing technical efficiency in manufacturing. Although similar principles apply, Weber would no doubt see the bureaucratization of the shop floor as a contradiction in terms. Weberian bureaucracy remains an administrative structure of officers working with literary knowledge, not assembly lines producing economic goods.

The ideal-type bureaucracy is only one of the three ideal-types of complex corporate systems developed by Weber and no actual organization was considered to be characterized exclusively by all the features of any one. In analyzing any empirical social system, or conceptual model of a particular type of organization, Weber's methodology requires that cognizance also needs to be taken of the essential features of the traditional and charismatic types of organization.

TRADITIONAL AND CHARISMATIC ORGANIZATIONS

Bureaucratic types of organization exhibit systems of order that are based on intellectually rational rules enforced by legal means. The normative provisions of such systems of order conform to contemporary notions of legality, although members may ascribe legitimacy to the order on grounds that are not expressly legal in the present meaning of the term. The two other ideal types of organization described by Weber are explicitly based on non-legal systems of order if this term is limited to connotations of calculable rationality (Zweckrationalität). but the provision of these orders will be upheld as law, in that sanctions will be imposed for recalcitrance. Furthermore, these traditional and charismatic systems of order will likely be perceived as "rational" by those subject to them in that they will define a set of absolute values (Wertrationalität) or well established customs prescribing and determining legitimate action.

Systems of Traditional Authority

Weber (1947:341-2) begins his consideration of organizations based on traditional systems of order with a definition:

> A system of imperative coordination will be called "traditional" if legitimacy is claimed for it and believed in on the basis of the sanctity of the order and the attendant powers of control as they have been handed down from the past, "have always existed." The person or persons exercising authority are designated according to traditionally transmitted rules. The object of obedience is the personal authority of the individual which he enjoys by virtue of his traditional status....
>
> It is impossible in the pure type of traditional authority for law or administrative rules to be deliberately created by legislation. What is actually new is thus claimed to have always been in force but only recently to have become known through the wisdom of the promulgators.

Divisions of labour and authority exist, but these are not completely specified in the traditional organization and likely to be non-rational to the modern observer. Freedom for personal decision is allowed in the system of order and the responsibilities and authority of the chief and his administrative staff remain to some degree unspecified (Parsons, 1947:341). Two spheres of authority can be said to exist: (1) a superior's commands are legitimized partly by tradition which limits the extent of authority and directly determines many of the possible commands and (2) by the existence of a traditional prerogative which allows the person to extend his authority into unspecified areas. Thus, legitimate action is specified and delimited in some respects, but free of specific rules in others, with rulers and administrators being allowed 'grace'. Weber (1947:342) comments:

> In the latter sphere, the chief is free to confer 'grace' on the basis of his personal pleasure or displeasure, his personal likes and dislikes, quite arbitrarily ... so far as his action follows principles at all, these are principles of substantive ethical common sense, of justice, or of utilitarian expediency. They are not, however, as in the case of legal authority, formal principles. The exercise of authority is normally oriented to the question of what the chief and his administrative staff will normally permit, in view of the traditional obedience of the subjects and what will or will not arouse their resistance. When resistance occurs, it is directed against the person of the chief or of a member of his staff. The accusation is that he has failed to observe the traditional limits of his authority. Opposition is not directed against the system as such.

Thus, the system of order and its contingent authority requires individualistic obedience to the person occupying traditional status positions and personal loyalty is a major bonding agent. Weber (1947: 341) notes that in the simplest case these " ... relations of personal loyalty (are) cultivated through a common process of education" or socialization. Where the administrative staff in a traditional system are bound to the chief by "traditional ties of personal loyalty" such as, for example, kinship, or some other long-standing relationship, the organization is termed patrimonial (Weber, 1947:342). In instances where administrative staff are recruited, and enter into a "relation of personal loyalty as officials" then the system is "extra-patrimonial" (Weber, 1947:342).

A hierarchy of authority is present, but this is seen as a non-optimal hierarchy:

> ... the question of who shall decide a matter - which of his officials or the chief himself or who shall deal with complaints is, in a traditional regime, treated in one of two ways. (1) Traditionally, on the basis of the authority of particular received legal norms or precedents. (2) Entirely on the basis of the arbitrary decision of the chief. Whenever he intervenes personally, all others give way to him. (Weber, 1947:344)

Thus there is a lack of a clearly ordered arrangement of the spheres of competence and authority. There is a "shifting series of tasks and powers commissioned and granted by the chief through his arbitrary decision of the moment" (Weber, 1947:343). Given this, and the emphasis on loyalty, patrimonies do not offer promotion, except for advancement "according to the arbitrary grace of the chief" (Weber, 1947:345).

A contrast of types. As can be seen, organizations based on traditional authority share *some* features with bureaucracies but differ markedly in other areas. Weber (1947:343) contrasts the two directly to highlight the major differences:

> In the pure type of traditional authority, the following features of a bureaucratic administrative staff are absent: (a) a clearly defined sphere of competence subject to impersonal rules; (b) a rational ordering of relations of superiority and inferiority; (c) a regular system of appointment and promotion on the basis of free contract; (d) technical training as a regular requirement; (e) fixed salaries, in the type case, paid in money.

Embedded within these differences are two essential points of contrast. In traditionally based Betriebsverbände, members of the administrative staff are not *appointed* to their positions by superior legal authority and they enjoy personal rights and control in the performance of their organizational tasks. Patrimonial and extra-patrimonial officials have independent rights associated with their "formal" duties and may even expropriate the office to themselves and their friends and kin. One consequence of this lack of clear division between personal and official life is that the official's organizational role is his *total* role; he is seneschal, chamberlain, tax collector, or priest at all times. A further consequence is that the seeds for administrative and palace revolutions are sown through this very structure. When the *governing* sub-system loses control over the patrimonial staff, then a "decentralized patrimonialism" develops in which the administrators exercise authority for their own partial or total benefit, by complete appropriation of the rights, powers and benefices of their office.

While Weber constantly discusses such systems and their ideal-type variants, such as gerontocracy (governance and administration by elders), patriarchalism, patrimonialism (governance by inherited kinship status), and sultanism, in a historical context, contemporary instances can be easily imagined and probably empirically verified. The Mafia, for example, would seem to be a prime instance of a patrimonial system. Weber has little to say about the technology or the workflow in traditional systems. Work based on written documents is not an excluded characteristic (although "documents of tradition"

(Weber, 1947:342) are seen as the only important consequence), and therefore not considered exclusive to bureaucratic organizations. Feudalism, Weber's type case of traditional administration, is, for example, very dependent upon record keeping.

Weber also discusses several instances of traditional systems where an administrative staff is absent (gerontocracy and patriarchalism). By definition, such systems are non-Betriebsverbände, and thus not directly comparable to bureaucracies, regardless of the systems of authority and order which prevail.

Summary. Whereas rationally based calculable law is given as the basis for bureaucratic systems, arbitrary action and precendent form the base of traditional systems. Both offer alternatives of organization suitable for particular tasks, cultures and historic conditions. Furthermore, both are presented as ideal-types and any empirical system may be expected to incorporate elements of each. Bureaucracy is presented as the more modern form, despite its appearance in Ancient China, Imperial Rome and other pre-Western civilizations. Further, the bureaucratic system is probably best seen as evolving from earlier traditional systems. Tout's (1916) treatise on *The English Civil Service in the Fourteenth Century* describes the 'civil service' of the times as a bureaucracy. In Weber's terms it is more correctly seen as patrimonialism. Dale's (1941) detailed and fascinating description of the modern work of *The Higher Civil Service of Great Britain* is definitely an insight into a monocratic bureaucracy and it can easily be seen as evolving from the earlier form of administration described by Tout over the intervening centuries.

Evolution cannot be the only form of social change, and although Weber (1947:361-2) saw traditional and bureaucratic types as accommodating the bulk of organizations throughout human experience, he also presents a charismatic exemplar. This model accommodates revolutionary change.

Systems of Charismatic Authority

The essence of charisma is *leadership* based on personal exceptional powers or exemplary qualities. Individuals with such qualities form the governance subsystem in charismatic organizations and exercise legitimate authority over their followers through a duty of these followers to recognize and obey their will. The system of order is personally ordained by the leader and rests on affectual, particularly emotional, attitudes. The administrative staff, if present, is composed of "disciples" selected for their own charismatic qualities.

> There is no such thing as 'appointment' or 'dismissal', no career, no promotion. There is only a call at the instance of the leader on the basis of the charismatic qualification of those he summons. There is no hierarchy.... There is no such thing as a definite sphere of competence and no appropriation of official powers.... There is no such thing as salary or benefice.... There is no system of formal rules, or abstract legal principles, and hence no process of judicial decision oriented to them .... From a substantive point of view, every charismatic authority would have to subscribe to the proposition, "It is written ..., but I say unto you...." (Weber, 1947:360-1)

As suggested by this phrase, charismatic systems are always led by an individual who "preaches, creates, or demands new obligations" (Weber, 1947:361). Hence, they are inherently innovative and usually revolutionary. In the pure case, revolution will be directed against a sphere of life already organized through a traditional or legal sytsem of order, or the movement will seek to become established in a new area of human activity. As a result of their dependence upon the charismatic qualities of the leader and his mission, such systems are held to be inherently unstable and "purely transitory phenomena." If successful, a charismatic system will become either traditionalized or rationalized into a traditional or legal system of order: the charisma is routinized. If unsuccessful, then the followers will return to the previously prevailing system of order.

In discussing Weber's charismatic type attention is frequently directed to the great leaders who most clearly resemble his ideal-type, such as Christ, Napoleon and Hitler. This may obscure the more prevalent instances in which charismatic authority is an important element in social organizations, especially when such is integrated into other systems of order. Roles which involve leadership typically require an element of charisma for their successful performance. Kings, military leaders and even revolutionary intellectuals require followers and if they lack charismatic qualification, then they may soon cease to be recognized as leaders. For this reason, they need to supply proof of their exceptional powers or exemplary qualities. In the purer cases, such proof may rest on miracles or magic. In more mundane cases, success in the endeavour usually constitutes the essential proof. Military leaders must win the battles expected of them and intellectual leaders discover new knowledge or else their claim to a following fails. This is the essence of the "gift of grace", for continuing success in any field of endeavour is in itself of an exceptional or exemplary nature.

Some Contrasting Themes

An important area of agreement between the traditional and charismatic types of organization and of difference between these and the bureaucratic form is that of normative specification. In both the traditional and charismatic forms, "grace" is a key ingredient of action, spheres of competence and responsibility are not clearly and unambiguously defined; the will or whim of superordinates remains to some degree unfettered and allegiance is owed to persons not positions. Charismatic organizations embody these features to the highest degree. Not only is the leader of such organizations allowed and expected to issue directives to others on the basis of his own inscrutable will but his authority rests on such actions and the duty of his followers to comply. Even the mission and the goals of charismatic organizations have the form of individual edicts. This freedom of action is less pronounced in traditional organizations. The chief is constrained by member knowledge of the norms and rules that have been handed down from the past; nevertheless, he is accorded grace to act in an arbitrary manner at moments of decision when a solution is not prescribed by precedent.

In the bureaucratic form, far less latitude is allowed. This does not necessarily mean that executive and member action is hidebound by an intricate structure of rules and regulations. It does mean that the system of order is fully knowable by all; the limits of authority, the spheres of competence and the expected behaviors of all members, including the head of the organization, will be specified in, or can be logically deduced from, the system of order. Hence arbitrary decisions or action that contradict the norms of the organization can be easily identified and censured.

These distinctions do not mean or imply that a bureaucracy is distinguished from other forms of organization by the existence of rules. Each of the three types of organization embodies rules. The difference lies in the form these rules take and the degree of freedom and compliance they accord to members. In charismatic organizations, rules are promulgated by the leader, may be changed at will by the leader and allow him absolute freedom while demanding total compliance from his followers. In the traditional organization the rules are derived from precedent and arbitrary pronouncement and allow freedom for the chief only in defined areas while specifying general compliance of members in some spheres and freedom from authority in others. In the bureaucratic organization, rules are based on an intellectual process and all members are subject to the system of order they define only in terms of their contractual responsibilities. Furthermore, in the ideal-type bureaucracy, the rules will specify and protect subordinate freedom of action within the specified spheres of competence. Hence, behavior in bureaucracies is much more predictable and calculable than in traditional or charismatic organizations. It is for this reason that Weber considered a bureaucracy to be the most rational form of organization.

In closing, it may be noted that traditionally based organizations were considered by Weber to be inherently more stable than bureaucracies. Parsons (1947:69-70) advances several reasons for this which include a tendency for individuals to expect compliance to their person rather than the legally established order and the widespread feelings of resistance and resentment that seem always to be associated with large scale administration. Moreover, the very calculability, impersonality and relatively greater efficiency of bureaucratic systems may be counter to the elements of social community and expression better provided for in traditional and charismatic systems. To these observations may be added a third: that of the relatively greater ease of decision and routine in systems that are governed by traditional norms. Officials in Weber's ideal-type bureaucracy must always be concerned with the careful assessment of alternatives and will strive to ensure that the relevant rules are always rationally defensible and ostensibly valid. This requires considerably greater diligence and industry than does the blind acceptance that a rule or procedure is valid now because "things have always been done this way." To a large degree, this would seem to suggest that any bureaucracy is in constant peril of devolving into a traditional type of organization, and that many of the criticisms inherent in the perjorative image of bureaucracy would be more appropriately directed at the traditionalism that results when the normative rules become fossilized, and comfortable routine replaces the intellectual application of expert knowledge on the basis of non-personalized principles of procedure.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

Although the major objective in this chapter was to present a detailed reconstruction of Weber's model of bureaucracy, attention has also been given to related aspects of his writings that were considered to aid in accurate conceptualization. The first section of the chapter considered Weber's approach to social enquiry and outlined the conceptual foundations upon which his organizational models are developed. These include his treatment of authority as a particular kind of imperative command, that is the giving of orders, and the importance of systems of order which are sets of normative rules governing behavior in social systems. Attention was also given to Weber's treatment of organizational structure, especially the concept of a Betriebsverband. These social systems are differentiated from others by the existence of three distinct and hierarchically ordered sub-systems: the leader or governance system; the administrative staff; and the worker or subject sub-system.

Weber's model of bureaucracy was presented as dealing specifically with the administrative staff of a Betriebsverband which is governed on the basis of intellectually rational rules. Compliance to, and enforcement of, these rules constitutes Weber's legal-rational type of authority, which is 'legal' in the sense of conforming to modern conceptions of calculable law *and* in the sense that the rules can be enforced by the use of physical or psychic sanctions. The model was developed in the second section of the chapter by reference to the nature of the legal-rational system of order that prevails and the implications that this has for the structure of the organization and the officials that are employed. Some attention was also given to Weber's comments on the collegial governance of bureaucracies.

The final section of the chapter outlined Weber's traditional and charismatic types of organization, each of which is based upon the corresponding form of ideal-type authority. An attempt was made in this section to compare and contrast the three different types of organization in order to highlight the character of Weberian bureaucracy.

This chapter provides the final stage in the development phase of this study. The chapters that follow attempt to contrast the models of bureaucracy and public schools through the medium provided by the taxonomy of organizational facets.

Chapter Seven

CONGRUENCY BETWEEN THE MODELS
1: ENVIRONMENT AND MORPHOLOGY

> I hold it ... indisputable that the first duty of a state is to see that every child born therein shall be well housed, clothed, fed and educated, till it attain years of discretion. But, in order to effect this the government must have an authority over the people of which we now do not so much as dream.
>
> John Ruskin

INTRODUCTION

Previous chapters have concentrated on assembling the material necessary for a critical discussion of the congruency between the ideal-type model of public schools and Weber's ideal-type bureaucracy. This chapter is the first of three in which this main aim of the study is addressed. In each of these analytical chapters several of the organizational facets identified in the taxonomy of organizational attributes are used to structure the discussion. In this chapter attention is paid to points of congruence and dissonance in the analytical categories of environment, goals and formal establishment. The last of these is considered as part of an extended discussion of the manner in which public schools may be analyzed as Betriebsverbände which forms the second major division of this chapter.

ENVIRONMENT AND GOALS

Attention was given to the nature of public school environments in the final section of Chapter Five and the major distinctions between social, local and task environments made at that time are used to structure the discussion here. In relating these points to Weber's model of bureaucracy, reliance is placed upon a number of features which appear implicit in his model or which may be deduced from it. Weber devoted little attention to exploring the environmental features of bureaucracies during the exposition of his model, although considerable attention is given to broad social and economic features elsewhere in *Economy and Society* and his other writings. Reference is made to these other writings in the discussion which follows, the major features being outlined under the first major heading below.

The inclusion of a discussion of goals in this section is justified on the grounds that it is the major state established objectives of public schools that serve to distinguish them from other types. Consequently, no attention is given to particular school level goals in this chapter. Some consideration of these is offered in the discussion of internal systems of order in a following chapter.

The Social and Economic Environment of Weberian Bureaucracy

Bureaucracy was seen by Weber as the "specifically modern" form of organization, and the majority of his relevant comments on contingent social and economic features can be taken from his thoughts on the evolution of modern social structures, values and economies. The main thrust of his thoughts in this regard is contained in the so-called "Weber Thesis" as this is developed in his essay *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism.* The major contention is that the emergence and spread of Protestantism in Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was instrumental in establishing a new commercial and business *ethos* that aided the development of the modern form of capitalism, and a set of values characteristic of contemporary European and North American cultures. Weber (1948:17) defined "a capitalistic economic action as one which rests on the expectation of profit by the utilization of opportunities for exchange, that is, on (formally) peaceful chances of profit." Realization of profit by coercive means is thus excluded. Capitalism as defined is not seen as a specifically modern form of economic activity, but one that has been practiced to limited degrees in all major civilizations (Weber, 1948:197). However, *modern* capitalism is seen as novel in that it forms in contemporary times the dominant type of economic action and because of the type of *ethos* that is characteristic. But, it is this *spirit* of modern capitalism that is, for Weber, decisive. Thus, the Weber thesis treats aspects of the socio-cultural and economic environments associated with bureaucracy as being highly inter-related.

The spirit of modern capitalism is contrasted to the values and motivations that Weber sees as embodied in "traditional" capitalism such as that practiced in Ancient Rome, China, India and Medieval Europe. In such times, much economic activity yielded profit as a result of the institutionalized use of force, such as is found in slave economies, and the extortion of tribute and land rents. Where profit was realized by formally free relationships (and such situations appear to be based on public enterprise, such as municipal grain markets), then the participants would appear to seek profit as a means to guarantee continuance of their established and acceptable styles of living: traditional capitalism is steady-state capitalism. Modern capitalism differs in that the participants, that is to say the shareholders, the entrepreneurs and the workers, would appear to pursue profit as an end in itself. Weber (1948) relies heavily on the writings of Benjamin Franklin to exemplify this modern business *ethos*, citing the important values as being those of thrift, honesty, industry and frugality, together with a belief that the pursuit of money is a completely acceptable goal and even a virtuous ideal. Hence, modern Weberian capitalism is dynamic and expansive, and congruent to the type of economic endeavour commonly modelled in economic text book descriptions of free market enterprise.

The intriguing question for Weber is how to explain the shift in values from what obtained in earlier times. His answer points to the emergence of mutated forms of Protestant ascetism as a key intermediary force. Puritanism[1] taught that election into everlasting heavenly life was predestined. This doctrine introduced the novel element of uncertainty in the minds of adherents for, in contrast, all other major religions preached that salvation could be attained only by compliance to their teachings. Puritans could possibly assume that they were amongst the predetermined select few, but could never be certain. Weber argues that one way in which this cognitive dissonance could be reduced was for adherents to demonstrate to the world (and thus to themselves) that they embodied the Protestant virtues, which were, of course, those of frugality, hard work, honesty and careful stewardship. It was not so much a matter of attempting to secure salvation, but of demonstrating to the world that an individual possessed all the requisite qualities to prove that he was one of the predestined few to be saved. The result, suggests Weber (1948:154) was that:

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[1] Weber (1948:217) uses this as a generic term to encompass "the ascetically inclined religious movements in Holland and England without distinction of church organization or dogma, thus including Independents, Congregationalists, Baptists, Mennonites and Quakers." He (1948:105) also cites the Calvinist doctrine as an exemplar.

> Christian ascetism strode into the market-place of life, slammed the door of the monastery behind it, and undertook to penetrate just that daily routine of life with its methodicalness to fashion it into a life in the world, but neither of, nor for, this world.

This is, of course, only a partial explanation. Other technical innovations are seen as of importance such as the invention of double entry book-keeping, which allowed precise calculation of profit and loss, and the evolution of commercial markets for negotiable securities so that share capital could be easily raised. Furthermore, the crux of the whole matter was the classic instance of goal displacement which transformed the Protestant values from an end in themselves to the means for the widespread pursuit of profit itself as an ultimate end within modern society regardless of individual religion.

These developments are all considered by Weber as essential for the emergence of modern capitalism, which itself is presented as an essential precondition for the evolution of bureaucracy as a dominant form of organization. This form of administration was considered as being ideally suited for the governance and regulation of capitalistic enterprise in which precise, speedy and unambiguous administration of resources and calculation of profit and loss are obviously of importance. Interwoven through societies favourable to such developments was a growing reliance on intellectual rationalism, especially as exemplified in the practice of science (Weber, 1948b). Rationality is a major theme in Weber's writings and takes many forms. In this sense, it means that "there are no mysterious incalculable forces that come into play, but rather that one can, in principle, master all things by calculation" (Weber, 1948b:155). Once again a contrast is thus drawn between traditional and modern situations. In modern capitalism and in calculably rational organizations such as bureaucracy, "... the world is disenchanted. One need no longer have recourse to magical means in order to master or implore the spirits .... Technical means and calculation perform the service" (Weber, 1948b:155).

In the political sphere, it does not much matter whether socialist or "capitalist" parties are in power (Weber, 1971). The political system will likely conform to government by some form of democracy, that is, election of leaders and possibly officials by a form of universal or restricted franchise. Furthermore,

> In large states, everywhere modern democracy is becoming a bureaucratized democracy. And it must be so; for it is replacing the aristocratic or other titular officials by a paid civil service .... This is inevitable and it is the first fact that socialism has to reckon with: the necessity for years of specialist training, for increasingly extensive specialization and for administration by a specialist civil service trained in this manner. The modern economy cannot be run in any other way.
> (Weber, 1971:197)

This modern economy will, in Weber's terms, be a more or less rational form of modern capitalism regardless of the political ideology of the state. Communist economies are "irrational" in that they are planned economies (Weber, 1947:214-5) and in that the state bureaucracy is the only bureaucracy. Modern capitalist economies are less irrational in that markets are more free and that both public and private bureaucracies exist. However, the state bureaucracy is regarded as indispensible for it is necessary for a system of "calculable law" to exist as another of Weber's (1978) pre-requisites for modern forms of industrial organization. This allows for a further degree of rationality for private bureaucracies can depend "upon calculable adjudication and administration in the conduct of their affairs...." (Weber, 1978b:208).

Summary

Weber argues that the emergence of bureaucracies as the dominant form of organization in a society is contingent on the development of the values he associates with modern capitalism. This will create a set of environmental features that can be summarized in point form under two headings:

Political-economic environment. The following features will likely be evident:

(1) The state government will be established by some form of democratic process.

(2) A body of rational law will be extant and provision for its administration will be provided by the state.

(3) This body of law will allow for the establishment of autonomous private corporations. These organizations will have protected rights of ownership over disposable property (land, buildings, artifacts) obtained in the market place, and,

(4) The law will also protect and regulate the right of individuals and corporations to engage in private contracts.

(5) Reasonably unregulated factor and product markets will exist such that capitalistic economic ventures are possible.

(6) There will be a money economy operationalized through a commercial market such that capital investment, share-holding and the negotiation of paper securities is easily possible.

The socio-cultural environment. Salient aspects will include:

(1) A society embodying a class of individuals who are "not only legally in the position, but also economically compelled to sell their labour" (Weber, 1947:209). In the ideal-type situation there will be no restrictions on this process and thus employers may select their workers on the basis of entirely rational calculations of cost and ability. The key characteristic of this "working class" is that they are "property-less", that is they have no source of income sufficient to provide their wants except the sale of their labour.

(2) A culture in which the values and norms of the "Protestant" ethic and the spirit of modern capitalism are of importance. These include industry, thrift, frugality and service to others.

(3) There will also be a prevalent belief in "intellectual rationalism" such that the solving of problems and the making of policy is perceived primarily as a technical exercise.

Congruency to Public Schools

There are three areas in which Weber's account of modern capitalism has a congruency to the environment of the ideal-type public school: (1) the relationship between the task environment of public schools and the role of the state in modern industrial (capitalist) nations; (2) the congruency between the structure and values of the broad social environment of public schools and values of the mutated protestant ethic; (3) the manner in which these relate to the major goals of public schooling structures. Each of these will be taken in turn.

The Task Environment as Required in the Modern Capitalist State

It will be remembered that the administrative and governance bodies of the central and local authorities were identified as the first level task environment of public schools. These authoritative bodies appear as intermediaries between the broader status and occupational positions in modern societies and the public schools and serve (among other things) to mediate and operationalize the educational and socialization of the groups representative of the second level task environment (cf. pages 141-145 and Figure 5:2). It is evident at this stage that this organizational super-structure appears highly congruent to Weber's model of bureaucracy, and the existence of a state established and dominated task environment for public schools is congruent to the type of environment that would be expected if public schools are to be considered as Weberian bureaucracies. Furthermore, this task environment suggests that each of the six summary features of the appropriate political-economic environment given above are specifically applicable to public schools:

(1) The legislative authority and the local authority are both, in the ideally typical case, established through the exercise of a democratic franchise.

(2) The enabling legislation and its attendant regulations and subordinate local board policy provides a body of calculable law governing the establishment and operation of public schools.

(3) This enabling legislation specifically provides (in the ideal-type model) for the establishment of local authorities that are the equivalent of quasi-autonomous corporations in that they have rights of ownership over the property necessary for the operation of the public schools in their jurisdiction.

(4), (5) and (6). The enabling legislation further extends the condition that the local authority is to employ the required school personnel under contract within the appropriate market and monetary systems regulated by the central authority.[2]

Congruence is further increased in that the specific application of these political-economic features to public schooling structures is a reflection of their existence within the state as a whole and that they are bolstered by encompassing institutions of law and economy which also apply to the special interest and general status groups that constitute the second level task environment.

The historical comparison. Congruency between the essentially bureaucratic type of environment and that which is held to exist for public schools is also clearly demonstrated in the analysis offered by Scotford-Archer and Vaughan (1971:56-70). Working from the Gerth and Mills translation of Weberian essays, they develop the typology of educational structures given in Figure 7:1. Each of the "control" characteristics given in this figure can be taken as referring to the system of order evident within the broader society. The rational-bureaucratic type of control is of course the intellectual rationalism that underlies the bureaucratic model and the modern form of industrial capitalism. "Content" in the figure can also be taken as referring

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[2] The reference to regulation here refers to the characteristic fashion in which central authorities will adjust the factor market of qualified teachers through controlling the production of newly qualified teachers from the training establishments and through the establishment of length of training criteria which will have an obvious effect on costs. Further regulation of the markets used by school boards can be seen in construction standards, prescribed text books and amount of debenture debt allowed, all of which relate the amount of grants given, which are also centrally controlled.

CLASSIFYING CHARACTERISTICS	TYPE OF EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM		
	A	B	C
Content	Heroic/ magical	Cultivation	Specialized expert training
Control	Charismatic	Traditional	Rational-bureaucratic

Source: Scotford Archer and Vaughan, 1971:57

Figure 7:1

TYPES OF WEBERIAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS

not only to the curriculum content of the educational system but also to the type of structure through which educational provisions will be made. Given the arguments developed in Chapter Four, it would seem evident that each of the three types of educational system identified could be structured to employ schools and schooling, and indeed it would be to the advantage of those responsible for educational provision to do this if numbers allowed. The provision of "specialist expert training" implies a multiplicity of training facilities (otherwise they would not necessarily be specialized) and also the presence of large numbers of students and a relatively high demand for graduates, if the expansive and dynamic nature of modern capitalism is taken into account. These features do not in and of themselves provide for public schools as described here. However, the recognition of two additional requirements would appear to make public schools inevitable:

(1) Monopoly. In a modern capitalistic state, it could be expected that the organizations that will employ the specialist trained graduates would seek to control the provision and operation of

schools and thus ensure the graduates are educated to meet their needs. Thus it would seem logical that corporations could establish their own schools to serve their own ends. An illustration of this is evident in the training facilities operated by some large organizations today of which modern armies could be a type case. However, the extension of this practice to the first and second cycle education of children would seem both uneconomic and counter to individual and social rights, although the model schools of Robert Owens and Cadbury in the early industrial era in England were clearly of this form. The problem could therefore be stated as who shall monopolize the provision of child education? Because mass basic education will be necessary if extensive specialist training is to be the norm, and because of social values and norms that recognize the sanctity of childhood[3] and family, then an *a priori* argument for the monopolization of child schooling by the state is created and public schools assured.

(2) Constraints. The alternate educational structure of dominant social groups such as corporate economic and employee groups attempting to monopolize educational provision is further militated against in public schooling structures by the presence of constraints which prevent the state from assuming total domination of educational provision itself. Within the model of public schools used here, these constraints apply

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[3] It is interesting to speculate, but outside of the argument here, on the degree to which these values could be a consequent rather than a determinant of public schooling. Certainly childhood had become to be recognized as a special state of being by *some* groups in the eighteenth century, but the particular nature (and sanctity) of childhood that is recognized today may have been consolidated to a large extent by the institutionalization of public schooling and the clear definition of non-adulthood status it provides through the definition of compulsory attendance ages.

not to the provision of education but to the content of that education as respresented by the formal curriculum. It was noted in the original outline of public school environments and goals that occupational, industrial and status groups within the society will attempt to influence curriculum content. As Scotford-Archer and Vaughan (1971:63) observe "It would be even more rare to identify a dominant group not manipulating the educational institutions to reinforce its own position." Within the outline of public school environments used here, any such attempt at influence will be directed at the local or central authority or possibly their superordinate body, the legislative assembly, one result being the elements of congruence within the mandated curriculum noted in the previous discussion. A second effect is to ensure that the mandated curriculum will be the only legitimate outline of knowledge that is taught in public schools and will thus define a body of "essential" common knowledge to be acquired by all children in the state. That this is so is indicated by the control mechanisms built into the ideal-type model of schools which militate against "curriculum subversion" and manipulation by teachers and local authorities. If the tenability of bureaucratic environments is acceptable, then this instance of a standard curriculum can be seen as a necessary condition in modern industrial capitalistic societies in which the state acts as a mediator to offset domination by other environmental groups and ensure that public schools produce competent adult citizens of the state to enter the employment market rather than pre-socialized employees of particular industries. This argument does not deny, of course, that the state has an obligation to ensure that knowledge necessary for public school graduates to be contributing adult members of a modern industrial capitalist society is taught in public schools. The point is that only such knowledge that is *generally* useful will likely be taught in the publicly-funded, state - regulated, child-enrolling schools and that particular interests of powerful groups, be they religious, cultural, industrial or political, be balanced for the general social good. A corollary of this would appear to be that should any such group be sufficiently dominant then they may be expected to define the curriculum in their interest, which is the case, of course, in Soviet Russia, where the communist party is sufficiently dominant. In the ideal-type case, however, a balance is assumed. Furthermore, the characteristic manner in which a balance of control is built into public schooling structures through a division of powers between the central and local authorities is highly congruent to Weber's model for the local boards clearly conform to the collegial bodies which "act on their own authority alongside the bureaucratic hierarchy" (Weber, 1947:392).

Social Structure and Values

Two points of congruence and one of dissonance would appear to be of relevance under this heading.

(1) School staff as employees. The environing social structure of a Weberian bureaucracy will be one which embodies a class of individuals who will be required to market their labour in order to earn a living; the organization will own the means of production and employ officials and workers to operate the administrative and productive processes. This is obviously the case in contemporary society and in the model of public schools in which all the staff

have the status of employees. In itself this is not remarkable from the perspective of our present society. In Canada, for example, 64 per cent of the labour force is employed by organizations (Department of Finance, 1979:157)[4], and thus this is a dominant pattern. From a historical perspective, this form of social structure is of more interest in that employment for a wage or salary does not become the dominant pattern in a society until modern capitalism and industrialization becomes evident. In the present discussion the point of interest is that *public* schools cannot exist unless such a social pattern emerges which includes extensive employment by the state or agencies established under state authority.

One related point of some interest is the associated feature of the means of production and administration being owned by the employing organization rather than the employee. In public schools, the essential means of production are the premises, instructional apparatus, the curricular knowledge and the pupils and it is the state (or the local authority) that has "ownership" in terms of exercising authority over all of these - the formal curriculum is promulgated, modified and controlled by the state or its associated authorities, and the pupils attend under the will of the state. The only elements of the production process that could be considered as being "owned" by the teachers are the teaching techniques and methodologies used in the classroom. However, teachers are, at least technically, first acquainted with these in their government regulated training and their right to "ownership" signified by a certificate which may be removed by legal action. Should this occur, they are denied employment in public schools.

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[4] This figure is obtained from the 1978 "total participation rate" in the "Main Components of the Labour Market" reference table in the 1979 Economic Review. This statistic is interpreted as meaning that 63.7% of those adults eligible to be employed had sought and gained employment through the labour market. The remainder are unemployed or self-employed or have not sought employment. It is these latter two categories that are important in this discussion, for these individuals clearly do no need to be employed in order to participate in the economy. Obviously, the actual proportion of the adult population that must seek employment is higher than 63% for most of the 8.4% unemployed together with the over-sixteen school and university population and other state subsidized groups also fall within this classification.

(2) Socialization to appropriate norms and values. According to the Weber thesis, it is the norms and values of a mutated form of the Protestant ethic that will be characteristic of bureaucratic environments. If congruency between the models of the public school and Weberian bureaucracy is to obtain, then such values and norms should not only be evident in the environment of public schools but could be expected to be inculcated in the pupils as part of the socialization function of public schools. That this is the case is Dreeben's (1968) major thesis, although he does not make an explicit connection with the bureaucratic model, resting his argument on the specificity, universalism and achievement norms of the Parsonian pattern variables. A more specific indication can be taken from the enabling legislation (The Education Act, 1974 RSO:229 (1) (c)) of the Ontario public schooling structure which requires that teachers

> ... inculcate by precept and example respect for religion and the principles of Judaeo-Christian morality and the highest regard for truth, justice, loyalty, love of country, humanity, benevolence, sobriety, industry, frugality, purity, temperance and all other virtues.

The reflection of the consituents of Weber's protestant ethic is striking, but can only be taken as suggestive of congruence between bureaucratic environmental norms and socialization in public schools, especially as the works of Spindler (1955) and Schwartz (1975) suggest that such values may be out-moded.

Additional indicators of congruence can be taken from the general curriculum content of public schools that would appear to stress the intellectual rationalism that is also seen by Weber as a feature of bureaucracies and their environments. This is perhaps most evident in the reliance that is placed on science and mathematics in contemporary curricula and the lack of attention given to the classics and other remnants of antiquity that were so predominant in pre-public school education. Furthermore, many contemporary curriculum statements include exposure to and development of decision-making and problem-solving skills both of which rest upon a belief in the ability of "intellectual rationalism." In this connection, Lauwery's (1973:9) survey of Canadian opinions on education found that 991 members of his sample of 1540 respondents selected "an ability to reason and apply knowledge" out of four alternatives as describing what students do acquire as a result of attending public schools.

Any discussion of the values and norms of contemporary societies and the manner in which the socialization function of schools relates to these is difficult due to the disparate and often conflicting viewpoints that are possible. Nonetheless, the few indicators offered here and the general tenor of social expectations reflected in the media and demands of special interest groups would suggest that the values of ascetic protestantism and intellectual rationalism are not alien to public schools.

(3) Teacher associations. A point of environmental dissonance between the models can be noted in the existence of politically based representative associations for the teachers in public schools. Weber maintains (1947:236) that the existence of employee organizations that impede the selection of employees solely on the grounds of "their technical efficiency" is contrary to the rational principles of the ideal-type bureaucracy. This is so for two reasons: (a) employees will not be paid according to the value of their marginal product and (b) incompetence and decreased efficiency will likely result if office incumbents and workers cannot be dismissed as required. That teacher organizations apparently act to ensure job security for their members regardless of their technical competence is notorious in contemporary folk knowledge, but difficult to substantiate. That they also act to prohibit performance-related salary scales and preserve what Weber would regard as irrational means of calculating remuneration is also evident. Such features are incongruent with the Weberian bureaucratic model, but, it must be added, the manner in which teacher organizations are maintained and administered is not, for these are normally based on a legally derived and enforced system of order. In the Canadian context, this is normally manifest in the manner in which these organizations are established by provincial statute and their policies and regulations enacted in a democratic, quasi-legislative fashion. Hence, the teacher members of the A.T.A. or the O.S.S.T.F. form, in Weber's scheme, the "subject" sub-system of a bureaucratic Betriebsverband on which is imposed the system of order represented by policies and by-laws of the association. Weber (1947:338) was congnizant of the possibility of such developments given an environ-

ment conducive to bureaucratization:

> when those subject to bureaucratic control seek to escape the influence of the existing bureaucratic apparatus, this is normally possible only by creating an organization of their own which is equally subject to the process of bureaucratization.

Thus, the existence of teacher organizations is an environmental element that is dissonant to the functioning of the ideal-type bureaucracy but congruent with Weber's broader image of bureaucratic environments.

Goals and the Local Community

The discussion of public school goals offered previously concentrated on the functional objectives of enrolling pupils and teaching the formal curriculum and no commitment was made in terms of identifying a common set of curricular objectives apart from the very general identification of subjects contained in the model itself. This emphasis was adopted on the grounds that particular curriculum emphases will vary over time with the fluctuating fortunes of environmental lobbies and their changing perceptions of what constitutes suitable learnings in public schools. In the ideal-type model, each of these two goals is defined in an essentially bureaucratic manner: the compulsory attendance provisions and the authority to enforce these, together with appropriate sanctions, being specified in the enabling legislation. Similarly, the authority to determine what shall constitute the curriculum in public schools is typically accorded to the central authority[5] by legislation, or there may be a legislated division of powers between various authoritative bodies. Whatever the case, the essential point is that these matters are specified in legislation or regulations established under the authority of legislation, which is to say they form part of an essentially bureaucratic system of order. Furthermore, there would appear to be reasonable grounds for suggesting that these provisions are also enforced bureaucratically in that divergence from the legally established curriculum and attendance provisions is not common and these provisions are enforced impersonally. Each of these situations will be explored in turn.

Curriculum equifinality. In the ideal-type public schooling structure, the authority to specify or approve the formal curriculum is accorded to the Minister of Education or delegated by him to the central authority. This curriculum may take the form of a clearly specified body of knowledge that must be taught in each grade and each subject throughout the state, such as is provided in the Laröplan in Sweden and the national curriculum in France, or it may consist of a less specifically stated program of studies which may or may not be supplemented with various curriculum "guidelines" for teachers issued by the central (and/or local) authorities, as is the case in Alberta and Ontario. Regardless of the specificity that obtains, all of these curricula can be considered to be bureaucratic in that they provide a set of rules to be used by teachers in determining what is to be taught and that these documents are promulgated and enforced under the legal authority of the central and local authorities. Further elements of bureaucratic control may include a legislated requirement that only legitimately approved text books may be employed and the legislative provision that specific penalties may be levied for non-compliance by teachers and boards.

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[5] As previously noted, the United Kingdom is one noticeable exception to this modal pattern. Section 23 of the 1944 Education Act vests control of the "conduct and curriculum" of *each* school in the governing bodies of appointees from the local community. Individual school governing bodies do not form part of the ideal-type model used here as they appear to be of little practical importance. This is so even in Britain, for as Kogan (1971:26) points out, these bodies exert little control in actuality and curricula in British schools are largely the responsibility of the headmasters. It is in this feature that the major disparity with the model developed here is evident for the headmaster's control over the curriculum is not given in the enabling legislation and is not, therefore, bureaucratic in the Weberian sense, but would seem more akin to a traditional form of authority.

In the ideally typical case, all students must complete the official curriculum, however this is defined, if they are to acquire a public school graduation credential, and this will be so regardless of the local socio-cultural environment of each individual school. Some schools may enrol students belonging to cultural minorities or particularly well defined socio-economic groups and thus pupil input may be expected to be heterogenous across the state or within a given schooling system, although it may be homogeneous for any single school. But, despite this variety in input, the pupils that graduate will all receive essentially the same types of credential after completing what is essentially a standardized curriculum. Curriculum equifinality of this nature would seem to be well explained by Weber's model in that it appears to be a result of impersonal adherence to and application of the formal curriculum in public schools. Two caveats are required in the presentation of this argument.

(1) "Impersonal" is used here to denote that the curriculum is not modified in the schools on the basis of the cultural attributes of individual students or school catchment areas and a clear distinction is made between curriculum content and teaching technology. Public school teachers are both expected and required to design teaching strategies and sequence their lesson and unit-content to accord with the learning abilities and needs of their students. In terms of Weber's model, teacher autonomy to adapt, modify and deliver the knowledge defined in the curriculum falls within the sphere of competence of the teachers and contributes to the "technical efficiency" of public schools. But, although teachers may select the manner in which the curriculum is to be presented, they are not accorded the authority to teach unapproved knowledge. Thus, the curriculum is treated impersonally although the method of teaching may be highly personalized. It does not much matter whether a public school enrols students from middle or low socio-economic environments or pupils of a minority culture or whether the teachers in the school attempt to adopt *teaching* technologies that may be well suited to the socio-cultural environments of their pupils, for a similarly defined body of knowledge is expected to be "covered" in each case.

(2) In many contemporary instances, the formal curriculum itself may be highly flexible and designed to accommodate a degree of student choice and to reflect the socio-cultural heterogeneity within the state or a particular school system. This does not detract from the validity of the general argument presented here and may well be taken as an indication of even greater bureaucratization, for the bodies of

knowledge to be studied are still defined in a manner legitimated by legal means. Furthermore, any attempt to accommodate pupil diversity in the formally promulgated curricula rests on an assumption that expert provisions can be made following a "rational" appraisal of the situation and this is, according to Weber, an explicitly bureaucratic characteristic.

The enforcement of compulsory attendance. Equifinality is also evident in the administration of compulsory attendance provisions in that exemptions are not usually made on particularistic grounds, but only according to those specified in the enabling legislation. An illustrative case in point is that of the Dukhobors in British Columbia as reported by Katz (1976:143-159). In this instance, Dukhobor children were being kept from attending the local public school by their parents on the grounds that elements of their culture were not being taught in the school and the official curriculum was contrary to their cultural beliefs. In this instance, the children were removed during a night raid by police and 'interned' in a custodial dormitory school. In terms of Weber's model, the provisions of the legally established system of order were enforced by legal means in what was evidently an "impersonal" manner.

Summary

Various aspects of public school environments have been the main focus of attention in this section. Weber's outline of the social, political and economic features of modern capitalism were taken as describing the type of environment which he considered to be associated with the development of bureaucratic forms of organization.

To a large degree, these factors would appear to accord well to environments of public schools and there would seem to be a strong case for accepting many of Weber's observations as analytically valid. This would seem especially so with regard to the task environment of public schools, for the organization of local and central authorities in public schooling structures would appear highly conducive to the bureaucratization of these organizations, while others, especially those relevant to the task environment, provide powerful forces and constraints that would appear to mold public schools towards and confine them within the bureaucratic form. However, the discussion offered in this section concentrated on environmental aspects only. Furthermore, the reconstruction of Weber's approach to bureaucratic environments used here was framed within such a broad historical perspective that, although some valuable insights may have been gained, the conclusions reached are neither conclusive nor novel.

STRUCTURAL MORPHOLOGY AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS

It will be remembered that Weber develops his model of bureaucracy to describe the administrative staff of a Betriebsverband in which a rationally based system of order is legitimated by law. A particularly important analytical question is whether public schools can be considered to be Betriebsverbände. This type of social system is characterized as being engaged in "continuous purposive activity of a specified kind" (Weber, 1947:151) and embodying governance, administrative and worker sub-systems. There is no problem with the first of these characteristics, for public schools are assumed to be organizations and thus "engaged in continuous purposive activity." However, the term Betriebsverband was retained precisely because contemporary conceptions of organizations do not explicitly embody the characteristic of a trichotomous structure. The point at issue, therefore, is whether public schools can be considered as evidencing these three sub-systems. This point must be considered to be absolutely fundamental, for the bureaucratic model describes the *administrative* sub-system of a Betriebsverband, and if public schools cannot be considered as embodying an administrative staff, then the Weberian bureaucratic model has no point of reference.

The Straightforward View

Figure 7:2 outlines what may be taken as the evident relationship between public school structure and the structure of the Betriebsverband. This figure maps each of the three sub-systems on to their "obvious" correlates in the public school.

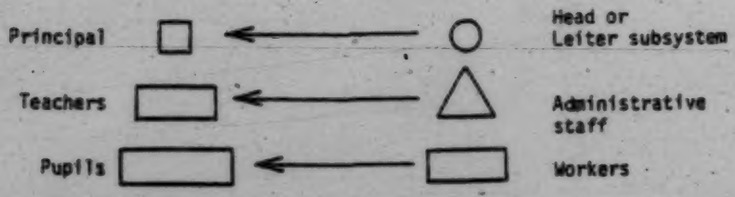

Figure 7:2

NAIVE MAPPING OF THE STRUCTURE OF A
BETRIEBSVERBAND ONTO THE STRUCTURE OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The principal appears as the head of the organization, the teachers as the administrative staff and the pupils as the lowest ranking worker or "subject" sub-system. However, this mapping of the structure of the Betriebsverband appears to ignore the administrative and political realities of the ideal-type public school. Weber (1947:333) is quite clear about the relative nature of the governance and administrative sub-systems. In the ideal-type monocratic bureaucracy, all the officials are appointed to their posts, except for the "supreme chief...." who "occupies his position by virtue of appropriation, of election, or of having been designated for the succession." Hence, public school principals, who have attained qualifications specified by the central education authority and are employed and appointed by local authorities on a competitive basis, do not appear to qualify as anything other than administrative officials. In this sense, they are officials within a broader bureaucracy who are *appointed* to positions of superordinate authority within the school but remain subordinate to the authority of external officials. Hence, the morphology outlined in Figure 7:2 must be seen as both naive and inaccurate, although such a morphology could be applicable to certain kinds of non-public school.

Two alternate structures are thus suggested. Either school systems or the state-wide schooling structure could be taken as forming the Betriebsverband. In both cases it is necessary to conceptualize public schools not as autonomous organizations but as integral parts of larger systems designed and operated to provide compulsory schooling within a territorial area. This is not in complete accordance with the ideal-type model of public schools developed previously in which the legislative, central and local authorities were viewed as aspects of the task environment of public schools, but the adoption of this view does little harm to the model.

The State Schooling Structure as a Betriebsverband

Figure 7:3 maps the structure of a Betriebsverband onto the structure of a state schooling structure. This configuration appears to capture the essence of Weber's conceptualization for a number of reasons.

(1) Weber's (1947:151-2) notes on the corporate organization of the state accommodate this arrangement well:

> The type case of compulsory organization is the state, along with its subsidiary heterocephalous[6] groups. But, so far as its order is rationally established, the church[7] is also included. The order governing a compulsory association claims to be binding on all persons to whom the particular relevant criteria apply - such as birth, residence, or the use of certain facilities. It makes no difference whether the individual has, as in the case of a voluntary association, personally assumed the obligation; nor does it matter whether he has taken any part in establishing the order. It is thus a case of imposed order in the most definite sense. One of the most important fields of the compulsory association is the control of territorial areas.

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[6] Heterocephalous is a term coined by Weber (1947:118) in his initial definition of terms, but not specifically used in his compound ideal type models of bureaucracy and patrimony. It means that the members of an organization are "under the authority of outsiders." Thus public schools are heterocephalous in Weber's scheme.

[7] Parsons (1947:152) explains that Weber uses "church" in the technical sense. Modern usage refers to Methodist, United and other such churches. Weber would call these sects, because they do not, like the Catholic church, claim jurisdiction over persons by right of their birth to Catholic parents.

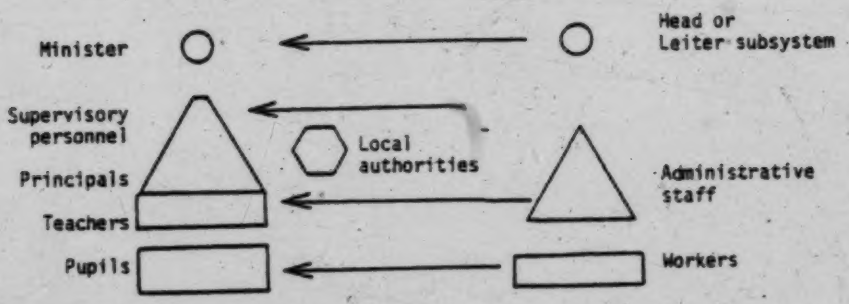

Minister
Head or
Leiter subsystem
Supervisory
personnel
Local
authorities
Principals
Administrative
staff
Teachers
Pupils
Workers

Figure 7:3

STATE SCHOOLING STRUCTURES AS
BETRIEBSVERBANDE

Thus public schooling structures can be seen as Betriebsverbände of a state that has successfully imposed a system of order on all the territorial residents between the ages of six and sixteen. That those persons have no say in this matters not at all, as the state is considered to have acted for the good of all. The system of order must be viewed as legal in that it stems from the enabling legislation establishing public schools and providing for their administration. It is enforced by central and local authorities through truant officers, other general administrative staff, the police and the courts, and, within the school, the principal and the teachers.

(2) The local authorities, that is, school boards and similar bodies, appear in Figure 7:3 as heterocephalous and collegial adjuncts to the main hierarchical structure of the Betriebsverband. As has been argued previously, this can be seen as necessary in a field such as schooling where local concerns are important and the complete centralization of authority to the state runs counter to both the values and the laws of democracies. In this view, therefore, the

local authorities operate as both a check on the operations of the central body and as centres of local governance and this is entirely in accordance with Weber's model. While the state has acted to ensure the development of its human resources through a policy of compulsory schooling, and retains much power to itself, a degree of local autonomy is entrenched in the enabling legislation by delegating local bodies the powers to engage teachers, modify curriculum and raise additional revenues. While the local authorities employ their own administrative staffs, such as superintendents and other officials, these persons are, at least in the ideal-type public school, appointed contingent upon holding qualifications specified by the central authority. They are also required to enforce the system of order established by the central authority, which system of order also regulates and constrains the action of the local authorities themselves. Hence, the officials employed by the local authority can also be considered as forming part of a state wide administrative staff.

(3) Figure 7:3 also views the teachers and principals appointed to public schools as members of the extended administrative staff. This allows for many of Weber's comments on the ideal-type bureaucracy to be relevant. The monocratic governance sub-system becomes the head of the state bureaucracy, and is described in the figure as the Minister of Education. The terms and conditions governing the appointment of such persons appear to conform to Weber's criteria for the supreme chief in a Betriebsverband. In modern Western states, such as the Canadian provinces, Ministers are designated for their positions by the governing party and must be elected to qualify for

appointment.

The structure described in Figure 7:3 is adopted for the balance of the study, as it appears to provide for almost perfect congruence between the morphology of Betriebsverbände and public schooling structures. However, this configuration is not completely satisfactory. A major point of concern revolves around the status of pupils and the possibility of alternate structural configurations which could be just as valid as that outlined in Figure 7:3.

An Alternate Structure

Figure 7:4 sketches one such alternate conceptualization for which a reasonably strong case may be made.

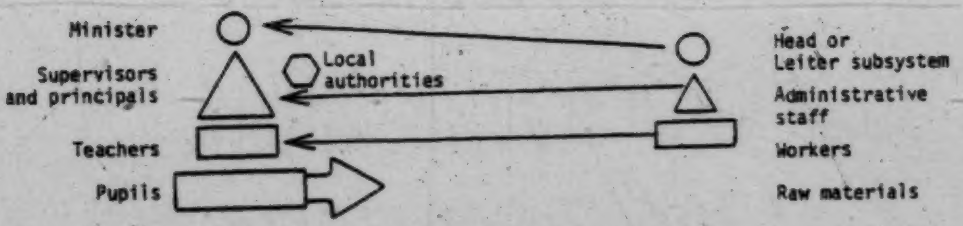

Minister
Supervisors and principals
Teachers
Pupils
Local authorities
Head or Leiter subsystem
Administrative staff
Workers
Raw materials

Figure 7:4

ALTERNATE MAPPING OF THE STRUCTURE
OF A BETRIEBSVERBAND ONTO A
STATE SCHOOLING STRUCTURE

This configuration builds on classifying the pupils in public schools as the "raw materials" that are processed by the organization. As noted previously, such a view has wide currency in the literature of educational administration (Wheeler, 1966:57; Katz, 1964:440;

Herriott and Hodgkins, 1973:89; Elboim-Dror, 1973). Logic would seem to require that if pupils are conceptualized in this fashion then the teachers should occupy the position of "workers" with the principal and other superordinate officials as the administrative staff. At first blush the arguments for adopting this view seem weak. Teachers in the ideal-type public school have an obvious similarity to officials in Weber's model; they are appointed on the basis of free contract by virtue of holding specialist qualifications and are remunerated by salaries paid in money. As such it is hard to conceptualize the teachers as "workers" in the Weberian sense. Furthermore, the model of public schools used here identifies pupils as members of the organization, the raw materials primarily being the subjectively new knowledge defined in the curriculum. The "work" done by the workers is therefore that of "learning" and the teachers act in a supervisory and regulatory capacity by directing this learning. These features of the model of public schools used in this study reinforce the configuration given in Figure 7:3, as does the general concept of a "worker-subject" sub-system for the pupils are compulsory members who can be considered to have many of the characteristics of "subjects" of the state. Nevertheless, support for the configuration outlined in Figure 7:4 wherein the teachers are viewed as workers and pupils as raw materials can also be marshalled. First, there is the argument of scholarly opinion, in that this view is advanced and supported by reputable authorities in the literature. Secondly, there are a number of anomalies apparently inherent in viewing teachers as anything other than employees who discharge their duties by conducting the "work" of schools. Such a view argues for teachers to be treated as "workers" in a similar fashion to the manner in which nurses, policemen and other semi-professional employees are commonly viewed. Finally, there is the question of the relationship between teachers and the principal and other superordinate officials. As is developed more fully below, there would appear to be a degree of conflict between teachers and their organizational superiors. This friction is well documented in the literature and can be accounted for by a variety of explanatory schemes. The main point of interest at this time, however, is that the presence of such frictions would appear to find an analogue in the type of relationship between supervisors and workers in other, particularly industrial, organizations. This could be best accommodated in the Weberian model if the principal and other office holders are viewed as members of an administrative staff attempting to impose and enforce a system of order on the teachers, which they, in turn, are resisting. An explanation of this kind once again lends support to the configuration in Figure 7:4, for it would seem unlikely that continuing conflict of this kind would be characteristic *within* the administrative staff of a Weberian bureaucracy.

Summary

The three different structural configurations considered here may all be considered as having relevance to the point at issue, which is, to recoup, whether or not public schools can be considered as Betriebsverbände and thus eligible for analysis through the medium of Weber's ideal-type bureaucracy. The main problem is to correctly map the trichotomous structure of governance, administrative and worker sub-systems onto the structure of public schools. The simplest solution as outlined in Figure 7:2 is rejected here in that the position of principal in public schools cannot be easily accommodated with Weber's description of the "supreme chief" of a Betriebsverband. Figures 7:3 and 7:4, which identify the Minister of education and the local collegial bodies as the governance sub-systems appear to offer more plausible configurations. However, identification of the governance sub-system does not of itself solve the problem. Figures 7:3 and 7:4 provide what may be valid configurations, the points of difference between the two being the status of teachers and pupils. The nub of the issue is whether or not teachers can be considered as members of the administrative staff in the Weberian sense. If they are considered as workers, then there are few valid conceptual grounds for utilizing Weberian bureaucracy in the analysis of public schools, for the explanatory power of the model would be restricted to the principal and his immediate assistants. For this reason, the configuration outlined in Figure 7:3 is provisionally adopted as being an acceptable description of the Weberian morphology of public schools.

It may appear that the notion of considering an entire schooling structure as a Betriebsverband denies the application of Weber's model to public schools *per se*. This need not be so. The supreme head of the bureaucracy will be absent, there will be parallel collegial authorities, and a large part of the administrative staff will not be present on the premises of the school itself, but this does not constitute an impediment to analysis, although each public school must be viewed as one of many decentralized operational units of the state wide and locally managed public Betriebsverband.

Formal Establishment

Decisions to establish or close public schools will normally be made by the local authorities in a manner which appears highly congruent to the Weberian model of bureaucracy. Political elements will be of importance in both cases, but particularly in decisions regarding the closing of a public school. For this reason it will be necessary for the local authority to pay scrupulous attention to the relevant provisions in the system of order for its actions to be accepted as legitimate. In particularly sensitive cases it may also be necessary for the board to develop its own rules and procedures to augment the regulations promulgated by superior authorities. If this is done then it will be necessary for the board to act within the limits of its authority and to ensure that any policies adopted are done so in a legitimate manner. These provisions and careful adherence to them will all be of importance should local residents appeal a board's decision to superior authority or the courts.

In addition to the necessity for local boards to adhere closely to the legally established and enforced system of order in matters relating to the establishment of public schools, further bureaucratic elements will be evident in the reliance that will be placed on technical rules and norms of many kinds. Decisions relating to finance, size, architecture, facilities and catchment area will all be taken with reference to budgetary and planning norms relating to the issuance of debentures, class size, population, bussing and accommodation densities. To a large extent, therefore, the final decision of the local authority will rest heavily on "technical competence" of its administrative staff.

To a large degree the major decisions involving the formal establishment or closing of schools may be expected to be dominated by the principle of geographic entitlement for the prime mandate of each local board is to ensure that all non-exempted students resident within its jurisdiction have access to a public school. However, once decisions relating to accommodation, bussing and curriculum availability have been made, the board will have to deal with personnel matters. Teachers will have to be hired, transferred or terminated as required. To a large extent these decisions may also be guided by what are essentially bureaucratic systems of order. However, there would appear to be some latitude for non-bureaucratic procedures to be adopted, especially in the case of staffing new schools. One possible instance could be that in which a principal is appointed to a new school and allowed to select the teachers as he sees fit. Such a procedure need not be non-bureaucratic. The board will still make the final "decision" for they alone have the necessary authority to make transfers and employ new staff, even though they will rely on the technical competence of their administrators to make the appropriate recommendation. If, however, the principal, or for that matter the superintendent, staffs a newly established (or any other) public school on any other basis than the rules established in a bureaucratic system of order, then these actions cannot be considered as in accord with the ideal-type bureaucratic model. Such rules would likely specify that only teachers with certain qualifications can be assigned to teach certain classes and subjects and that appointments are to be made on the basis of competence and seniority. Should the school be staffed primarily on the grounds of friendship with the principal or acceptability to the community, then these could well constitute non-bureaucratic procedures.

The extent to which public schools may be staffed on the basis of affectual, traditional or even charismatic grounds is difficult to ascertain, but all would seem possible. Nevertheless, it would appear likely that staffing decisions, especially in the ideal-type situation, will be made primarily on the basis of teacher qualifications, and the relevant negotiated agreements. If this is the case, then further congruency to the Weberian model can be considered to obtain.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has been devoted to an analysis of environmental and environmentally related aspects of the two models. The overall conclusion is that a high degree of congruence between public school and bureaucratic environments would seem to obtain. However, the points of congruency may not appear to be particularly notable due to the wide perspective that Weber adopts in his analysis of socio-economic and political aspects of societies. Thus, the perspective afforded from the vantage point of contemporary Western society tends to take many of Weber's observations regarding modern capitalistic and socio-economic features for granted and may easily lead to their being disregarded in analysis. Nonetheless, the discussion offered in the first section of this chapter suggests that *public* schools are dependent on modern capitalistic values and structures and thus their establishment and operation will be inevitably association with, and contingent upon, the emergence of bureaucratic forms of organization, and the reliance on technical competence and legal rationality that is associated with this.

In the second section of the chapter, the relationship between the morphology of Betriebsverbände and public schools was considered. The main conclusion was that public schools do not by themselves evidence the structure of a Betriebsverband, and thus cannot be considered as analytically independent Weberian bureaucracies, for the position of "supreme chief" and many of the authority positions within the hierarchy of the administrative staff are located externally to the public school itself. The major point of concern within this structure is that of the appropriate analytical status that should be accorded to the teachers. In the two chapters that follow, teachers are accorded membership in the administrative staff of the Betriebsverband as this allows the analysis to proceed. It was noted in this chapter that public school teachers could well be treated as members of the worker sub-system, but if this approach were adopted, then the Weberian model would have little applicability to public schools *per se*, but would retain a high degree of congruency to the associated system and structure level hierarchies.

Chapter Eight

CONGRUENCY BETWEEN THE MODELS
2: STRUCTURE AND TECHNOLOGY

> A common tactic to understand complex organizations is to explore the possibility that the nature of the task being performed determines the shape of the organizational structure. This straightforward tactic raises some interesting puzzles about educational organizations. There are suggestions in the literature that education is a diffuse task, the technology is uncertain.
>
> Karl Weick

INTRODUCTION

The preceding chapter concentrated on environmental aspects attributed to or imputed from the models of public schools and Weberian bureaucracy and some attention was also paid to the organizational facets of goals, formal establishment and products. Three organizational facets remain: structure, authority and technology. Each of these is of major importance and each can be treated as an "internal" aspect of organizations. Congruency between the structure and technology of public schools and Weberian bureaucracy is discussed in this chapter with authority forming the focus for discussion in the chapter immediately following.

The present chapter is divided into two major sections. Structural aspects are discussed in the first of these, technology in the second. To some degree, this could be considered to be an artificial division, as these organizational features are commonly treated as being interdependent. This aspect is considered in the chapter summary.

CELLULAR STRUCTURES AS QUASI-BUREAUCRACIES

This section builds on a number of discussions and conclusions presented in earlier chapters, three of which provide conceptual parameters for analysis: (1) the cellular structure attributed to public schools; (2) the hierarchy of offices characteristic of Weberian bureaucracies; (3) the recognition of teachers, principals and other superordinate administrators as constituting the administrative staff of a Betriebsverband.

Teachers as Bureaucratic Officials

It is customary for the contemporary literature to regard only the principal and other specially designated personnel as constituting the administrative sub-system in public schools. As discussed above, this would invalidate the use of Weber's model of bureaucracy in the analysis of schools, for his model is specifically concerned with the organization of the administrative staff in a Betriebsverband. Nevertheless, there would appear to be a number of sound arguments for treating public school teachers as members of the administrative staff as this concept is used by Weber, and this configuration has been adopted for the purposes of the present analysis. In order to minimize semantic confusion, a convention is adopted in the following pages in which the principal and other members of the public school who are clearly designated as administrators in the conventional sense will be referred to as members of the school *management* sub-system.

Recognition of teachers as members of a Weberian administrative staff rests partly on their relationship to the students, if these are conceptualized as forming the "worker" or "subject" sub-system in the Betriebsverband, and partly on the existence of a high degree of congruency between the characteristics of bureaucratic officials and some of the characteristics of public school teachers as summarized in the ideal-type model.

Points of congruence. Many of these points of congruence between Weber's description of bureaucratic officials and public school teachers have been alluded to previously. They include: (1) the employment of teachers and members of the management sub-system under the terms specified in a contractual relationship; (2) employment being contingent upon applicants possessing appropriate credentials; (3) assignment of teachers to positions at the discretion of the board; (4) remuneration by fixed salary with provision for pensions. It is also common (5) for teaching to be treated as a career; and (6) for teaching to constitute the sole occupation for the teacher. The (7) appropriation of particular teaching positions is normally not allowed; and (8) teachers and school managers are not allowed ownership over the means of administration or production. With regard to the last point, an argument presented previously identified the premises, artifacts, pupils, teaching expertise and curriculum as the major elements necessary for the operation of public schools, and it was noted that teachers are effectively separated from exercising the type of control over these elements that is synonymous with ownership. A further point of congruence in this respect relates to the fact that public school teachers are characteristically prohibited from private tutoring or teaching of their public school pupils by the system of order enforced by their professional association. Thus, they have no "private" ownership or rights of appropriation of the essential curricular knowledge outside of their school role as teachers. They teach the curricular knowledge within schools established by the society and are denied control of this knowledge for private ends. This characteristic relates to another of Weber's comments on the ideal-type bureaucratic official, this being the characteristic manner in which official status, responsibility and duties are separated from private life. To some degree, contemporary public school teachers evidence this type of separation between official and private life whereas this was not so in earlier forms of community and state schools in which the status of school teacher adhered to individuals in many aspects of their non-school life in the community. Waller (1961) offers some insightful analyses of this situation in the America of the 1930's which seem much more characteristic of Weber's traditional rather than bureaucratic form of organization. But even in contemporary times, a complete separation of official and private roles is not evident in public schools, in that teachers are expected, and to some degree formally required, to exemplify appropriate moral standards in public life outside schools.

Points of dissonance. The essentially traditionally derived expectations still held for the social behavior of public school teachers suggests that there are points of non-agreement between the two models. Two aspects would appear to be worthy of note.

(1) Promotion. Weber (1947:334) observed that the feature of a career for the bureaucratic official is evident through "a system of promotion according to seniority or achievement." The lack of a promotion ladder and the existence of no real career prospects in teaching have been remarked upon previously and elsewhere (Allison and Renihan, 1977). Within public schools the opportunities for promotion would all appear to remove a teacher from the classroom and curtail the opportunity to actually teach. Weber would no doubt remark that the positions of teacher, principal, superintendent, central staff officer and assistant deputy minister constitute the system of promotion within the state bureaucracy, for, in the ideal-type situation, qualification and experience as a teacher are pre-requisites for appointment to these positions. However, this does not seem satisfactory, especially as salary schedules typically allow for differential remuneration of teachers on the basis of experience and qualifications. In an ideally rational manifestation of Weber's exemplar bureaucracy, such distinctions in worth to the organization would be accompanied by additional status, authority and responsibility, and thus create a hierarchical system of offices which could afford promotions and a career within the public school. A promotion system such as this is an integral part of the various differentiated staffing models that have been proposed for public schools and recently reviewed by Ratsoy *et al.* (1976). It is of interest to note that such models are generally regarded as innovative in the literature of educational administration and that Ratsoy and his associates concluded that the adoption of such models on a wide scale is unlikely in the near future.

(2) Psychic rewards. The second anomaly is associated with the characteristic system of remuneration for public schools teachers. In a Weberian (1947:333) bureaucracy, officers are "remunerated by fixed salaries in money, for the most part with a right to pensions." There is little problem with this except for Weber's insistence on payment in "money". His emphasis on officials being denied private rights of ownership, behaving with "formalistic impersonality" and the office being the sole occupation of the incumbent, suggest strongly that bureaucratic officials are employed solely on the basis of the terms of the contract and that their salary is given and received as representing full remuneration for services rendered. Aspects of vocation in the sense of being "called" to an occupation or aspects of duty to persons who are not within the bureaucracy seem alien to Weber's pure type, although they have some importance in the Protestant ethic. Weber (1947:340) states, for example, that "It is the tendency of officials to treat their official function from what is substantially a utilitarian point of view in the interests of the welfare of those under their authority." Such an attitude does not seem to correspond with the attitudes that many teachers are reported as having towards their public school duties. Lortie (1975) is particularly informative in this regard. In his interviews with public school teachers, he found that many clearly perceived their job in terms of a special mission of service to the *pupils*. Aspects of duty to their superiors, the community or the state, were particularly absent. Furthermore, Lortie (1975:30) notes that only two per cent of the United States public school teachers surveyed in an NEA survey cited

"financial rewards" as "key factors in their decision to teach." While he adds that the element of financial remuneration is certainly being "under-played" in these results, the lack of utilitarian orientation to the bureaucratic feature of "salaries paid in money" is striking. In his (Lortie, 1975:31) own research, he asked teachers why they believed others became teachers. This projective technique yielded responses in which "money" was cited 37 per cent of the time, but "service" was cited 42 per cent of the time. Furthermore, Lortie's (1975:105) questionnaire data, obtained from 5,886 teachers, shows that "psychic rewards were perceived as being more important than monetary rewards." In response to the survey questions dealing with psychic rewards, 86 per cent of the respondents chose "knowing that I have 'reached' students and they have learned" from the five available responses. In the question dealing specifically with "extrinsic rewards ," only 831, or 14 per cent, of respondents selected "salary" as providing the most satisfaction, both the other alternative responses to this item producing significantly greater responses. Lortie (1975:30) highlights the point, noting that "many people both inside and outside teaching believe that teachers are not supposed to consider money, prestige and security as major inducements." Regardless of the particular mechanism through which such an orientation affects social and organizational norms, this suggests that the teaching "officials" in a bureaucratic ideal-type public school are not engaged on a strictly utilitarian basis, and may be better perceived as having joined the organization in order to "teach" and to "reach" students, rather than to become members of the administrative staff of a bureaucracy.

This point could have more than merely analytical significance for Weber (1947:335-6) explains that payment in money, although not essential, is most appropriate because it minimizes the opportunity for officials to take advantage of their position for personal benefit. Hence, the bureaucratic salary can be taken as a mechanism which enhances allegiance to and identity with the organization as well as providing a basis for disciplinary measures, for it is a characteristic of the environment that officials will have to seek employment in order to earn income. But, the phenomenon of psychic rewards in teaching would seem to constitute a counterbalancing system of "payment in kind" over which the authorities have little control. The withholding of a salary increment as a disciplinary measure may have little impact on some public school teachers, and indeed monetary reward may constitute a poor motivator in public schools.

The position of the principal. With the exception of the comments made with regard to the lack of a system of promotion for public school teachers, all of the comments made above would appear to apply to the principal and other occupants of management positions in public schools. It would seem reasonable, therefore, to conclude at this point that the positions of principal and teacher in public schools exhibit many of the characteristics of bureaucratic officials, while noting that there are some elements of incongruity.

The Quasi-Bureaucratic Structure of Public Schools

If the position of teacher and principal in public schools can be seen as only partially bureaucratic, then the structure of the public school would appear to be even less so. The characteristic organizational structure of multi-class schools has been described as cellular, and is formed by the tight coupling of individual teachers to particular classes of pupils. The actual pattern may change from time to time during the day as some classes dissolve and reform and as some teachers decouple from one class and couple with others although a less fluid structure in which individual teachers remain coupled to particular classes through the school day for an entire year usually prevails in the lower grades. A relatively flat hierarchy of authority in which the principal occupies the apex has also been presented as a feature of the ideally typical public school. In exploring the congruency between this structure and that of the Weberian bureaucracy, the degree to which functional roles in public schools can be perceived as "offices" in the Weberian sense provides a useful point of departure, for the "office" (or "bureau") appears as the structural building block of Weberian bureaucracy. Each office is related to a "specified sphere of competence" which involves a set of "obligations to perform functions which (are) marked off as part of a systematic division of labour" (Weber, 1947:330). Furthermore, the offices are organized in a hierarchical pattern. Each of these three features is of analytical interest.

Divisions of labour. In itself, this is not a purely bureaucratic feature, for all organizations regardless of their particular nature will embody a division of labour of some kind. What is significant is that in bureaucratic organizations the division of labour will be determined by "intellectually rational" means and each major component function will contribute to the definition of an "administrative" office. Each of the constituent "cells" formed by the linking of a single teacher to a single class can be taken as a component in the division of labour between the teachers in the public school, and this structure will be mapped by the master timetable of the school. Further, each of the management strata within the authority hierarchy can be taken as a component of the division of management labour, these two divisions of labour appearing to coincide with the batch and process technologies previously identified in public schools.

Structure of the classroom related division of labour. The division of teaching responsibilities can be regarded as "intellectually rational" in that it will be determined by the structure of formal curriculum and the number of students enrolled. This division of labour is accomplished in many public schools according to rules in the system of order which specify maximum and minimum teacher loads, class size, and instructional times, and these can be taken as technical norms in the bureaucratic sense. However, the degree to which each of the constituent sets of teaching responsibilities within this division of labour contributes to the definition of an office is problematical.

Spheres of competence. Each position in the cellular division of teaching assignments is commonly indicated by such terms as "Grade 1 teacher", "remedial teacher" or "teacher of English literature 101" and in the ideally typical situation, it would appear that each teacher assigned to these positions will have special technical competence in the required grade and/or subject. But, in many instances, the competencies required for a rational division of labour according to the timetable of the school are not specified in a bureaucratic manner. The teaching certificates issued by many central authorities, for example, do not specify competence in any particular grade or subject but merely competence as a "teacher." Technically, therefore, many public schooling structures rely on "omni-competent" teachers, rather than teachers who have specialized technical competence.

This is not completely accurate, however, for some public schooling structures, such as that in Ontario for instance, do evidence a complex system of specialized qualifications and local authorities are required to obtain the indulgence of the Minister before they may assign specialist duties to a non-qualified teacher. Furthermore, even in structures which rely on only a single major certificate which qualifies an individual as a teacher, cognizance is normally taken of specialist training as documented on a university transcript or diploma in assigning teaching duties. Of these two types of staffing arrangements, that exemplified by the Ontario system would seem most congruent to the bureaucratic model, but even under this system it is possible for teachers who have no special technical competence to be assigned to classes which require such competence. Furthermore it would seem that the intermediate and senior levels of the curriculum in public shcools typically evidence a much greater reliance on specialization than do the elementary grades; indeed, the particular grade level positions in elementary level timetables are not normally associated with specialist training beyond that of preparation for elementary teaching *per se*.

The typical situation would therefore appear as one in which the division of teaching responsibilities in public schools is only partially bureaucratic. Teaching positions in the higher grades will likely be filled on the basis of the incumbents holding specialized qualifications but a more generalized approach to staffing will be likely in the lower grades. Even so, it would seem that it is possible that little direct congruency between the qualifications of a teacher and his actual responsibilities in the specific division of labour in the school may obtain. Some schools could well be staffed in only a partially bureaucratic manner with certificated technical competence forming merely one basis for the allocation of teaching duties and more traditional aspects such as seniority, friendship and influence also being of importance. Regardless of the empirical basis on which this division of labour is accomplished, it would seem that the spheres of competence within the teaching staff of a school will be more general than the specific responsibilities as defined in the timetable. Secondary level teachers are recognized as history, geography or English specialists, rather than as certificated specialists in the particular courses which are actually taught to the classes they are assigned to. Similarly elementary level teachers may be recognized as experienced in teaching specific grades but will be unlikely to possess anything other than a broadly general qualification in elementary teaching as such.

Hierarchy. While the possible lack of reliance on specialized technical competence in the division of teaching responsibilities in public schools suggests a degree of dissonance with the bureaucratic model, the organization of the division of labour itself is evidently incongruent. It is clear that the teaching assignments are organized in a hierarchical fashion, but this is a consequence of the curriculum structure and the process technology of public schools as represented by the movement of pupils from the lower to the higher grades and not of differential authority. In a Weberian bureaucracy "each lower office is under the control and supervision of a higher one" (Weber, 1947:331), but no such hierarchical ordering of authority is evident in the cellular structure of teaching "offices" in public schools. The grade 5 teacher, for example, has no authority over the grade 1 teacher, that is to say, has no legitimate right to expect that these teachers will comply with his commands because of his "superior" position in the vertical division of labour. Indeed such a situation is not countenanced in the system of order that prevails in public schools which will normally require cooperative-collegiality between teachers. This is incongruent with Weber's model which would appear to specify that each office be located within a subordinating hierarchy of authority, and if teaching responsibilities are recognized as constituting an office, then each teacher should occupy a particular position in such a hierarchy.

Authority in organizations is commonly associated with status, responsibility and differential rewards and the absence of any hierarchy of authority within the teaching body of the public school is also associated with a lack of formal differentiation in terms of status and remuneration. While there may be a correlation between informal status and certain teaching assignments, there is little formal distinction made between the status of individual teachers, except perhaps in terms of comprehensive assignment to broad status categories such as elementary or secondary. Similarly, differential remuneration is normally based on the level of training received and the amount of experience gained and not the type of teaching assignment given or competence in discharging these duties. All of these aspects are irrational in terms of the bureaucratic model for they do not provide a calculable basis for the most efficient deployment of teachers or for the accurate reward of meritorious service. The lack of any intellectually rational means to formally differentiate between teachers can also be seen as providing the basis for the lack of a system of promotion as remarked upon earlier.

Matrix Structures

While there would appear to be some functional basis for recognizing the responsibilities of individual teachers as forming an office in the Weberian sense, this would not appear to be substantiated in the organizational structure of public schools. The division of labour characteristic of the teaching process is markedly cellular with individual teachers being variously coupled to individual classes on the basis of what may not be an intellectually rational decision in the bureaucratic sense. To some degree, this structure would seem to parallel Herbst's (1974:54) concept of a matrix organization which he defines as,

> ... one that does not have any single division of functions, ... but permits the formation of these and other subgroups according to the nature of the task to be performed. The matrix organization does not contain built in status differences; it is based on the assumption that each (member) has a specialist role together with a range of task competence which partly overlaps the competence of other (members). Any (member) may thus, depending upon the nature of the task to be done, take on a leadership role or act as a member of a specific task group.

Matrix organizations are commonly presented in the literature (Trist and Bamforth, 1951; Galbraith, 1971; 1973; Handy, 1976:301-2; Miller and Rice, 1967; Lawrence and Lorsch, 1967) as being potentially more flexible than rigidly hierarchical bureaucracies. They are conceptualized as being based on an ability to form small task groups or product teams that will exist only for as long as is necessary to perform a single important task. In a matrix organization, therefore, two interdependent personnel structures will exist: (1) there will be the formal roster of members in which each has a particular position and enjoys the security associated with this; but in addition, (2) personnel will be assigned to a number of time-limited small groups that are charged with a specific task. In order to ensure greater organizational effectiveness, provision may also be made for the temporary recruitment or secondment of personnel from other divisions within large complex organizations or from the task environment.

Handy (1976:296) observes that matrix organizations "arose in the aero-space industry out of a need to combine customer needs and priorities within the organizational requirements for economies of scale, long production runs and the development of specialist skills." The emergence of these organizations has also been linked with the development of turbulent environments (Emery and Trist, 1969:253) and they have been presented as embodying many of the human relations values exposed by theorists such as McGregor and Likert. These emphases tend to present the matrix organization as an innovative and futuristic approach to organizational design that could serve to replace the 'rigid' bureaucratic hierarchy with a more fluid and adaptable structure. Jaques (1976:272) comments:

> The widespread desire to somehow get rid of the bureaucratic hierarchy ... finds expression in the continual search for more 'democratic' or more 'organic' forms of work organization. Each new group structure - such as so-called functionally autonomous work groups, or matrix organization or teams of various kinds -

is hailed as a victory for cooperative groups over autocratic managers, and as the forerunner of the demise of hierarchy.

Jaques (1976:258-276) presents an alternate view by arguing that many of the features associated with matrix organizations have long been evident in formal work settings. He (Jaques, 1976:259) suggests that an overreliance on such concepts as 'informal organization' and 'line and staff' has served to mask the "whole range of lateral relationships ...." that "... are an integral part of the functioning" of organizations. From Jaques' point of view, therefore, matrix organizational principles are not new, although organizations deliberately designed to capitalize on these features may be. What is necessary, suggests Jaques, is a more accurate modelling of the reality of organizational structures, rather than a rush to replace them with supposedly innovative designs.

The approach adopted here is in sympathy with that of Jaques, for it would seem possible to argue that the traditional organizational structure of schools is much more akin to that of a matrix than a hierarchy. This argument rests upon identifying the time period over which classes are formed and teachers assigned to them as providing an important time horizon. In public schools this time period may be a term, a semester or an academic year, but whatever the case, it dominates the instructional organization of the school by determining the 'life' of each class, serving as a basis for the construction of the curriculum and providing the major instructional constraint faced by teachers and pupils. Within each time span teachers are tightly coupled to defined aggregates of pupils and to a specified body of knowledge in the curriculum. At the end of a given time span, pupils are usually aggregated into different groups and the teachers reassigned. Although the teachers may be responsible for the same body of curriculum knowledge, they are, nonetheless, assigned to a different group of students. Thus, although a teacher may be assigned to teach 'grade 3' or '5B' or 'English 101' for a number of years, in each term or semester or year, whatever is the appropriate time span, he is teaching a different class.

This arrangement would seem to closely parallel the organizational principles evident in matrix designs, especially if the pupils are treated as members of the organization, for then the teacher and his group of pupils can be conceptualized as a 'task group' that has been formed to 'work on' a defined section of the curriculum. Furthermore, this situation can be seen as applying to many types of schools. In public schools, however, there are a number of additional features that could be taken as strengthening the degree of congruency with the matrix organization. In the ideal-type model teachers are assigned to schools as required. Hence, teachers are not permanently assigned to any particular school or to a particular teaching position. This allows for a flexibility in personnel assignment that is very close to that associated with matrix organizations. Conditions of employment, security and other aspects of the contractual relationship between boards and teachers are guaranteed regardless of the actual assignments given to individual teachers, but, within this context, teaching staff could be deployed and redeployed in a highly flexible manner. Task groups of teachers and specially aggregated pupils could easily be formed should the need arise, as could groups of teachers who may be assigned or seconded to work on a particular task. This perspective encourages the conceptualization of regional school systems as the key organizational unit within schooling structures. In this view the staff assigned to any particular school could be taken as akin to a task group formed within a larger matrix organization.

Implications for the bureaucratic model. Viewing teachers and pupils as members of an organization structured on matrix principles would appear to suggest incongruity with the bureaucratic model. Furthermore, the incongruity would seem to increase if the school system, rather than the school itself, is taken as constituting the organization of most importance, for this creates a set of conditions under which it may be less tenable to view the teachers as part of the administrative staff of a Betriebsverband.

However, the incongruity to the bureaucratic model may not be as great as it may at first appear, for the assignment of teachers to classes and schools may well be made on a highly rational consideration of the alternatives of action available and be regulated by a large number of technical norms and decision rules. One aspect of interest here is that some of these constraints and guides to action may have been negotiated between the teacher representative group and the legal authorities. In cases such as this then the existence of bureaucratic rules of the technical kind may be better attributed to the teachers themselves rather than the superordinate authorities.

Finally, it should be noted that the Jaques' (1976) arguments with regard to the widespread but largely unrecognized presence of matrix organizational principles in organizations is set within his consideration of the nature of bureaucracies. To some degree he is concerned with extending and amplifying Weber's original model and it could be that temporary work groups are a much more prevalent feature of bureaucracies than has been recognized by Weber and subsequent commentators. Certainly the wide use of committees, which could be conceptualized as 'task forces' or 'work groups' is a commonly identified feature of bureaucracies.

The disciplinary literature. There would appear to have been little attempt to apply matrix concepts to the study of schools in the literature of educational administration. Hanson (1979:48-52) devotes some attention to the formal design of schools on matrix principles and cites a study by Smith and Keith (1971) as one which identified matrix elements in a public school. However, Hanson's approach reflects that taken in the broader literature by presenting the matrix organization as an innovative approach to organizational design that could offer a number of benefits for schools. The possibility that the instructional organization of schools could be traditionally based on matrix principles is not recognized.

The Management Hierarchy

The previous comments were restricted to the division of labour, spheres of competence and lack of a hierarchy of authority within the teaching body of public schools. However, the principal and other management personnel form an analytically distinct management sub-system in public schools, a major responsiblity of which is to establish, coordinate and supervise the cellular structure, as well as all other "official" activities within the school. As manifest in the ideal-type public school, this management hierarchy also embodies a number of commonalities and discrepancies with the ideal-type bureaucracy.

Spheres of competence. The spheres of competence within the teaching body were described as being only partially bureaucratic in that there was less than a clear correlation between the technical competence of teachers and their bureaucratic credentials and possibly even their teaching assignments. This is not the case with regard to the position of principal for appointment to this position is normally contingent upon the acquisition of specialist qualifications as mandated by the central authority. In fact, the distinction between the competencies required for teaching and school management is so marked as to suggest that these responsibilities define the two most coherent and important spheres of competence in public schools. This is commonly evident, not only in terms of qualifications but also in the duties and responsibilities of principals as these are normally specified in the enabling legislation or some other element of the system of order. The Ontario Education Act (RSO 1974:sect.230), for example, states that part of a principal's duties include the maintenance of order within the school, the preparation of a timetable and the regulation of who may gain admittance to the school, while regulations made under the Act further require that principals supervise the instructional program and make regular inspections of the premises. These and other typical duties focus concern on the operation of the school as a whole, and although it is normally required that principals have demonstrated competence in teaching and still have the official responsibilities of teachers, they will normally spend little time teaching. Their role is clearly that of planning, coordinating and supervising, and to a large degree they appear as the direct representatives of the local authority.

Intermediate positions. Other members of the management subsystem have a much less clearly defined set of responsibilities and in many cases their duties fall between the teaching and the management sphere of competence. As stated in the original formulation of the model of public schools, incumbents of positions such as department head or vice principal may be best conceptualized as assistants to the principal. Duties are normally assigned by the principal and any authority that may be exercised by incumbents is also normally delegated by the principal. However, if public schools are conceptualized as being partially organized on the basis of matrix principles, then department heads (and subject chairmen) could well be viewed as leaders of instructional teams. This could be especially apt if limited term appointments are employed in a given case.

Appropriate authority. The diffuse authority associated with these positions suggests an important element of incongruity between the two models, for Weber (1947:330) maintains that the incumbents of each sphere of competence will be provided with "the necessary authority to carry out" the required functions and "that the necessary means of compulsion" will be "clearly defined and their use ... subject to definite conditions." Department heads and subject coordinators in public schools would appear to be accorded very little, if any, authority in the bureaucratic sense. That is to say, the legally established system of order as represented by the provisions of the enabling legislation, the regulations of the central authority and the by-laws passed by the local authority rarely accord incumbents of these positions specific powers of imperative control over the teachers in their subject departments or grade divisions, and even less do they accord these intermediary officials any "means of compulsion" to enforce their directives. Nevertheless, a number of appropriate responsibilities for these semi-management positions will typically be identified in the system of order, although it would also seem typical that the degree to which these will constitute specific tasks for department and division heads will differ from school to school. This would appear to be a non-bureaucratic method of organization.

The principal as a quasi-bureaucratic official. Similar discrepancies can be noted in the authority accorded to public school principals. Typically, these positions carry much supervisory and coordinative responsibility and specific duties may well be outlined in the system of order. However, principals are not normally accorded "the necessary means of compulsion" which Weber sees as necessary to ensure the compliance of subordinate members of the administrative staff. It would appear that the major means of compulsion in bureaucracies will be the imposition of rewards and sanctions associated with remuneration, promotion, transfer and dismissal. In public schools it is the local collegial authority that is accorded the authority to decide in these matters, and although the principal will be expected to provide recommendations and supervisory data, he has no authority to act as he may wish.

It is worthy of note that a much more bureaucratic system is evident in the exercise of authority over the pupils in the school.

The teachers are accorded a legal right to the use of force against recalcitrant students and the principal has the authority to suspend, but not expel, non-compliant pupils. Furthermore, the use of these powers is typically subject to "definite conditions" within the system of order and rights of appeal normally exist to the local authority, the supreme chief and the courts.

The Depth-structure of Public Schools

The above observations suggest that there is only partial congruency between the management structure of public schools and the administrative hierarchy in Weberian bureaucraices. One explanation for this is offered by Eliott Jaques' (1976:127-160) theory of stratified depth structure in bureaucratic organizations. He (Jaques, 1976:127) observes that "it is an almost universal disease of bureaucratic systems that they have too many levels of organization" and his main point is that the manifest hierarchies in most organizations are normally misleading in that many of the positions are superfluous to the major authority strata that define the underlying structure of the organization. His (Jaques, 1976:133-5) empirical research into the depth structure of a large number of European organizations led him to conclude that the functional strata in authority hierarchies are correlated with the time-span necessary to discharge the appropriate duties and evaluate the performance of incumbents. These time spans progress logarithmically from 3 months to 1 year, 2 years, 5 years, 10 years and 20 years, and provide for a possible seven stratum depth structure. Jaques (1976:135) notes that any organization will have a greater or lesser number of strata depending upon the type of work done and the number of personnel employed and it is only the very large national or multi-national bureaucracies that evidence a six or seven stratum structure.

In mapping depth structures, Jaques (1976:135) recommends that it is necessary to:

> Measure the level of work in time-span of the top role of the bureaucratic hierarchy - say the chief executive of the hierarchy, or the department head of a department within the hierarchy - and that time span will give the stratum in which the role will fall, and therefore the number of organizational strata required below that role. For example, if the role time spans at 3 years, it makes the bureaucracy a str-4 institution, and calls for four levels of work organization .... If the bottom work role, however, is above the 3 month time-span, say for example, 6 months, as may be the case in some types of professional institution, then the institution will require only three levels of work organization, namely str-4, an intermediate str-3 and the bottom professional str-2.

Jacques' concepts offer an interesting analytical framework for the exploration of the management structure of public schools. No empirical report has been located which applies his methodology to schools, but it would seem worthwhile to speculate. The teacher role in public schools could well be classified as a stratum-2 position, which is described by Jacques (1976:145) as "Imaginal Concrete." This stratum covers the "3 month ... and up to the 12 month timespan" of planning, working and evaluation, and therefore the typical assignment of teachers to classes for a semester, term or school year falls well within these temporal parameters. Furthermore, Jacques' example of typical str-2 positions includes nurses and social workers, both of which are commonly viewed as semi-professional occupations similar to that of teachers (Etzioni, 1969). In contrast to this, the superordinate stratum-3 level is termed "Imaginal Scanning" and considered to have a work time-span of 1 to 2 years. Incumbents of these positions are described as being in a position where it is impossible to "oversee or to imagine all at once the whole of a person's area of responsibility" and thus "conceptually formulated tasks must be translated into an imaginal picture of the tasks controlled." and the "duties scanned continually so that progress can be tied up with new instructions" (Jacques, 1976:146-147). It is a moot point as to whether tasks such as these are associated with the principalship, but they are certainly not characteristic of the intermediate positions in the school management sub-system which would seem to be adequately encompassed by stratum-2 responsibilities.

Two major possibilities would therefore seem evident. Either the 'administrative staff' of a public school (teachers and principal) will all fall into the stratum-2 level or the only hierarchical differentiation will be between the stratum-2 teachers and a stratum-3 principal. It would seem highly likely that the size of the school and the system will be the decisive variables in determining which of these alternate depth-structures obtains. It would seem that only in the largest public schools presently observable is it likely that the principalship would constitute a stratum-4 position, requiring a 2 to 5 year time span capacity and the use of "Conceptual Modelling" skills, although this could well be so in the case of a chief executive of a public school system.

Implications for the Two Models

Together with the comments made previously regarding spheres of competence in the teaching body, the lack of effective authority for the intermediate management positions in public schools and the possibility that schools could be viewed as embodying matrix organizational principles, then Jacques' model of bureaucratic depth structure strengthens the argument advanced here that there are only two major functional spheres of competence in public schools: teaching and management. Furthermore, this differentiation may not even be tenable in smaller public schools for the tasks associated with their management may be adequately handled at the stratum-2, imaginal concrete level. If this view is tenable then it would appear to support some of the implications noted in connection with the broader structure of regional systems and state wide schooling structures, for the major operational levels of the hierarchy of authority in these Betriebsverbände will be located outside of the public schools themselves, coinciding with the position of Chief Executive Officer of the local authority (stratum 4 or 5) and the Deputy and Ministerial levels in the schooling structure itself (stratum 5 or 6). A depth structure of this kind conforms well with Jaques' (1976:153) assessment of the structure of state bureaucracies in which stratum-4 positions are described as being regional responsibilities and typically involving the management of 350-2500 personnel and stratum 5 and 6 positions are associated with national territories and an employee roster of up to 150,000 persons. A final supportive point is that the role and tasks of public school pupils would appear to conform reasonably well·to the stratum-1 (Perceptual-motor Concrete) level.

Weber offers no comment on the *number* of hierarchical levels to be expected in a ideal-type bureaucracy and comments in the literature regarding his supposed preference for "tall" hierarchies are not supported by an examination of his writings. Hence, it would seem that a two or three stratum (office) hierarchy is not necessarily incongruent with his model. However, a lack of a specification of duties, responsibilities and competencies and a lack of clear provision of the necessary authority to effect the imperative coordination of subordinate offices, is incongruent with the ideal-type. Some of these features are evident in public schools for duties and competencies of teachers and principals are specified in the legally established and externally imposed system of order, but others, especially the definite delegation of authority to principals to effect the compliance of teachers, are not present to the same degree. It would seem reasonable, therefore, to conclude that the management hierarchy in public schools is only partially bureaucratic.

Summary

The approach in this section has been to seek points of congruence and dissonance between aspects of the organizational structure in public schools and Weberian bureaucracy, and to offer a number of alternate conceptualizations that could accommodate several of the problems encountered. Although several points of close agreement were noted, including an apparently high degree of congruence between the contractual status of teachers and bureaucratic officials, the apparent lack of a clearly defined hierarchy of positions within the teaching body and of a functional division of labour of the kind described by Weber, were identified as constituting points of disagreement between the two models. The organization of the teaching staff in public schools was noted as being hierarchical only in the sense that the curriculum itself is hierarchically organized. Thus, although certain teachers may have a hierarchically superior position in the vertical organization of the curriculum, this will not likely be associated with a legitimate right to exercise imperative coordination over those teachers assigned to lower levels in this instructional hierarchy. Similarly, particular instructional responsibilities do not necessarily confer additional status or remuneration on the occupants.

The hierarchy of authority that does exist in public schools was described as being relatively flat with the major positions being those of principal and teacher, and although several intermediary positions such as department headships may be empirically evident, it is unclear as to how far these represent clearly defined positions of authority. Nevertheless, Weber does not specify whether bureaucracies embody 'flat' or 'tall' hierarchies, and is uninformative in the matter of spans of control.

During the course of the discussion reference was made to the possibilities that several of the characteristics associated with matrix organizations may be evident in public schools and school systems. The degree to which this may affect the congruence to the bureaucratic model is unclear, for, although the flexibility that is associated with matrix structures is not normally attributed to Weber's model, his original presentation of the ideal-type does not necessarily exclude the presence of matrix principles in bureaucracies.

In conclusion, attention should be drawn to the difficulties encountered in the analysis attempted here. The appropriate status of teachers (and pupils) within the conceptual frame of reference provided by the Betriebsverband emerged several times as a conceptual impediment. If, for example, teachers are treated as constituting the worker sub-system, then the focus of bureaucratic analysis should logically shift from the public school itself to the school system or schooling structure of which it is a part. The comments offered on the tenability of the matrix organizational design suggest that such a view may be appropriate. Similarly, the extended and relatively better defined hierarchy of authority evident in schooling systems and structures also serves to shift attention from the school itself to the larger organizational concept.

At this point, therefore, it would seem that structural organization of the personnel in public schools does not appear to evidence a congruency to what obtains in Weber's model. However, some bureaucratic elements would appear to be present in schools and congruency would seem to increase if attention is directed towards the organizational nature of school systems. For this reason, public school structures have been described in this section as quasi-bureaucratic.

TECHNOLOGY IN BUREAUCRACIES AND PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Three different types of task were identified in the discussion of the organizational nature of public schools: class teaching, the supervision, monitoring and routing of students through the curriculum and the maintenance of order amongst the students at large in the school. The technology associated with the last mentioned of these is considered in the discussion of authority offered in the following chapter, while the technologies associated with the first two tasks form the major points of interest in this section

The Technology of Class Teaching

The major tasks involved in school teaching have been previously identified as the identification of the knowledge to be taught to the class, organization of this into a sequential series of lessons and units, the planning of appropriate activities for each lesson, delivery of the lesson, supervision and direction of student work during the lesson and the evaluation of student learning. Additional tasks include the motivation of students, the creation of an efficacious climate for learning and maintenance of order in the classroom. These latter tasks all relate to behavioral and normative rules contained in various systems of order and are best discussed under this heading in the following chapter. However, the first set of tasks can be taken as defining the major technical competencies in public school teaching and will be discussed here.

"Batching"of Knowledge

Teaching in public schools has been previously identified as analytically akin to Joan Woodward's (1965, 1970) construct of "unit and small batch" production technology. This is a characteristic method of doing work that is associated with the production of small numbers of certain types of product or individually custom made products. In relating this type of technology to teaching in public schools, the initial raw material that is worked on by the teacher is the knowledge that has to be taught to the students as this is outlined or defined in the curriculum. The teacher is required to recreate this knowledge in the minds of the pupils in the class and in doing so is allowed a degree of latitude and autonomy in both selecting the specific knowledge taught in each lesson, how the lessons will be sequenced and the type of teaching techniques actually used. For example, the curriculum may specify, among other things, that pupils studying grade 5 language arts should learn the correct use of the apostrophe, how to correctly spell specified sets of words and how to construct expository, descriptive or narrative paragraphs. It is the task of the teacher assigned to this class to transfer this knowledge to the pupils. Exactly how this is done is left to the teacher to determine, and it is expected that the unit and lesson plans designed to accomplish these objectives will take account of the present knowledge and ability of the students and other pertinent factors. Thus, each of these lessons and unit plans will be, for most intents and purposes, custom designed to suit the particular situation that obtains in the class. In the terms of the Woodward (1965:37) technology classification of unit production, each lesson is a "one off" type of product: the knowledge to be taught is "batched", that is grouped together, to meet the individual requirements of the situation. The same is true of the unit plans and overall course structure in each class: the teachers are expected to custom design the teaching-learning activities to suit the particular situation. However this is done, the total experience is expected to ensure that at the end of the appropriate time span, be this a school year, term or semester, the students will have learned the knowledge specified in the curriculum for the subject and level at which they are studying.

The expertise required to accomplish this difficult task is substantial and should not be underestimated. Furthermore, it appears to be on the same skill level as many of the production activities studied by Woodward in the unit and small batch industries in South Essex. These included the tailoring of bespoke suits, the production of prototype electronic equipment and custom furniture. It is obviously difficult to make conceptual and evaluative comparisons between this type of work and teaching, but the high degree of technical expertise, experience and craftsmanship required in doing these things well would seem to find a parallel in teaching. Lortie (1975:135) for example, chooses to term teaching a "craft", but makes a distinction between tangible and intangible craftsmanship. The unit production organizations studied by Woodward employed craftsmen to work in tangible fields, but the teaching employees in public schools practice their craft in intangible fields: knowledge and the nature of people.

Characteristics of Unit Production

All of the organizations studied by Woodward were concerned with industrial production of the tangible kind and the frame of reference adopted stresses production engineering in a business context. Nevertheless, there are a number of interesting observations that relate almost directly to the technology of school teaching.

1. Integration of functions. Woodward (1965:157) was particularly impressed with the characteristic fashion in which small batch technology required the integration of the functional task elements of planning, execution and control: "Planning continued after execution had begun, and control was exercised from the moment the

work was put in hand." This would seem to accurately define part of the task demands placed on teachers and matches Lortie's (1975:135-137) comments very closely. Furthermore, Woodward (1965:157) observes that in the small batch factories she studied, "The detailed organization of the work was left entirely" to the craftsmen who were,

> responsible for determining the method and sequence of operations as well as for the quality of the finished product. This ... meant that at every level of the hierarchy, a wider area of discretion was allowed to the individual than in other types of production.

Once again, this would appear to be almost exactly the type of situation faced by teachers.

2. Flexibility and inefficiency. Woodward (1965:158) observes that the great advantage of small batch production is the flexibility that obtains as, for example, in the latitude teachers have to adapt and modify their lesson content and sequence as they proceed. However she notes that this flexibility "carries with it the corollary of inefficiency in the sense that it is extravagant in its use of facilities and that the highest level of efficiency cannot be achieved in relation to any single operation." From a purely functional point of view, public school teaching can be considered to display a similar type of inefficiency in that the time and resources required to "cover" the curriculum knowledge are much larger than would be taken in a one-to-one tutoring situation, the certainty of achieving the objectives is not great and opportunities for much incidental and non-standardized learning exist.

3. Dependence on the craftsman. In unit production the organization is heavily dependent upon the skills and attitudes of

the individual employees. It is not possible, as it is in large batch production-line types of technology, for the organization to treat its employees as interchangeable and disposable parts of the production process. Furthermore, as Woodward (1965:173) puts it, "the primary task (does) not depend upon the management's definition." In the school context, teachers define their own purpose and tasks within the accepted parameters of the curriculum and on the basis of their experience in doing their job.

4. Structural parallels. A final set of parallels between the small batch technologies studied by Woodward and the public school is apparent in the various aspects of the organizational and administrative structures characteristic of the organizations studied. In the Woodward (1965:50-71) study, the unit and small batch organizations evidenced (1) the highest ratio of personnel to other costs, of all the organizations studied, (2) a median first line span of control on the order of 24 workers to each first line supervisor, (3) the "flatest" administrative hierarchy of the three types of technology studied (a median of three strata). These features are also characteristic of public schools in that they are (1) notoriously "labour intensive" organizations, (2) the average class size given in the ideal-type model is 25 and students have been conceptualized as workers with their teachers occupying a supervisory role, and (3) if the arguments presented in the previous section are tenable, then a three stratum hierarchy (principal, teachers and pupils) is characteristic.

Congruency to the Weberian Model

Employing the terminology popularised by Burns and Stalker (1961), Woodward (1965:71) observed that the successful small batch organization "tends to have organic systems" of organization. She (Woodward, 1965:71) continued by noting that the large batch production type firms tended to have mechanistic types of organization and opined that the preoccupation of the classical organizational and administrative theorists with this type of production system may have led to the emphasis on a mechanistic approach to organization that is apparent in their writings. Weber falls within this category and it is not unusual to find his model of bureaucracy described as mechanistic, and indeed he relied on the imagery of the machine in describing the technical superiority of the bureaucratic form of organizations. Weber paid no attention to the method of production in bureaucratic Betriebsverbände, however, and little to the technology employed by the administrative staff. Thus it is difficult to establish incongruity between the technology embodied in bureaucracies and public schools by simply classifying Weber as a classic and mechanistic theorist. However, there would appear to be a number of specific points of incongruity.

Technical competence and craftsmanship. As previously noted, officials in a Weberian bureaucracy are required to possess "specialized knowledge", that is, in the type case, acquired by "formal training" (Weber, 1947:335), and although this is certainly the case in public schools it has also been observed that the division of labour among teachers is not based directly on the technical qualifications of the staff but rests to a large degree on the course requirements as derived from the curriculum. To this can be added the particular situations that arise as a result of the nature of the pupil intake. Some schools, for example, will enrol a majority of pupils from a particular socio-economic category or from a minority culture or pupils that are representative of other salient features of the local environment. Although the principle of curricular equifinality obtains in a general sense, the features require that the actual program in each school will be different and unique in some respects and this, of course, forms the basis for the small batch type of technology, and also brings the importance of teacher experience to the fore. Weber (1947:335) acknowledges that specialized knowledge of "an empirical character, developed by experience, rather than formal training" is characteristic of some kinds of bureaucratic organizations such as trade-unions or political parties, but he appears to regard this as something of an aberration. One reason for this could be that persons who rely heavily on experience in achieving their organizational tasks are relying on what is primarily folk knowledge: plans are made, choices taken and actions executed not on the basis of a body of abstract, inter-related and codified technical rules or norms that can be instilled by training, but on the basis of a standardized set of principles and maxims that have been internalized through personal experience. Craftsmanship rests on knowledge of this kind and it is much more of an art than a science. But Weber's bureaucracy is built on a belief in intellectual rationalism and the technical solution of problems through the use of scientific, not folk, knowledge. Indeed, Weber (1948b) makes the connection between bureaucratic environments and scientific method explicit.

Qualifications versus experience. If classroom teaching, especially effective classroom teaching, rests on experience and craftsmanship, then the qualifying certificates issued by the central authority may be little more than bureaucratic symbols that have little correlation with actual teacher competence. There is certainly much evidence, some of which is summarized by Lortie (1975:68-70), that current teacher training programs do not adequately prepare teachers for the reality of classrooms. The major emphasis would appear to be on augmenting the subject knowledge of teachers, with less attention being given to pedagogy. The findings of Newberry's (1979) study of the consultative behavior of 23 beginning elementary teachers are relevant in that these teachers sought advice and guidance from experienced teachers on the basis of the congruity between the teaching situations of both. Thus these inexperienced teachers would seek out more experienced teachers who were teaching the same grade level as themselves and who were perceived as having a similar pedagogic ideology. If such teachers were not present, then the beginning teachers appear to cope (or fail) without seeking consultative assistance. A similar situation is reported by Hanson (1979:117) in secondary schools. One of his respondents, for instance, stated that when seeking instructional guidance, he turned "to other science teachers in the district who are kind of attuned to the way I am." A striking feature of this type of situation, which is also documented by a reasonable body of other research surveyed by Newberry, is that little assistance is given to, or sought by, teachers from their organizational superordinates. This is clearly incongruent with what would be expected in a Weberian bureaucracy and supports the structural observations made earlier. A study of the consultative needs and practices of 80 elementary teachers by Haughey, Holdaway and Small (1977) also yields relevant findings. In this case the need for consultative assistance increased with the amount of formal training received by teachers but declined markedly with experience. Furthermore, these patterns were clearly evident in the task areas associated with the batching of knowledge, that is, with regard to developing course outlines, unit and lesson plans and interpreting curriculum guides.

These studies all suggest that experience is perceived by teachers as a correlate of teaching competence to a greater degree than is technical training in the Weberian sense. Miller's (1976:259) findings reviewed earlier appear to contradict this observation, but his study found strong positive correlations between training and the exercise of legitimate authority in public schools relating to the organization and administration of *school* rather than *classroom* activities. Thus, this finding supports the marked distinction between the spheres of competence (management and teaching) noted earlier and the observation that additional technical qualifications are a pre-requisite for promotion to the principalship.

Affectuality. To this point the discussion has focussed on the classroom related tasks of teachers as perceived from an organizational perspective and has not paid direct attention to the face-to-face technology of teaching *per se*. The task objective in the instructional process is to transfer the knowledge that has been "batched" by the teacher in the design of the lesson plan and this design will include the outline of an instructional and possibly an evaluative strategy deemed appropriate for the situation. In previous chapters the actual process of class teaching has been described in general terms as requiring the teacher to "broadcast" the knowledge to the class, and this is characteristically done through the presentation of a lecture or talk augmented with a series of questions. The answers received to these questions and other verbal and non-verbal cues perceived by the teacher will be used as feedback to modify and redesign the activity as it proceeds. The lesson will also usually include a greater or lesser amount of time devoted to student work on the knowledge presented. This may take the form of an extended discussion, the taking of notes, completion of exercises, or involvement in an experimental type of activity. In this phase, the teacher adopts the roles of supervisor, consultant and evaluator. The literature (Waller, 1961; Wilson, 1975; Gordon, 1957; Bidwell, 1965; Lortie, 1975; 1978) suggests that satisfactory performance in all these processes requires the development of particularistic knowledge about, and the development of, affectually based relationships with the pupils. Thus the very nature of the instructional process militates against the maintenance of universalistic impersonality which is central in Weber's model. Furthermore, the development of good rapport with students would appear to be an important element in the system of order in the ideal-type public school. Grambs (1957:88) for instance, observes that "an ideal of the teacher (is) one who is permissive, helpful, (and) psychologically oriented in interpreting motivations."

However, the apparent necessity for non-bureaucratic relationships between teachers and students should not be allowed to mask the existence of an aspect of the instructional process that does appear congruent to the Weberian model. The subject knowledge to be learned by the students will be defined and regulated by a set of rules and standards that are (or at least can be) applied in a highly formalistic and impersonal manner. Student mastery of the knowledge taught can be judged as right or wrong, good or bad, correct or incorrect, through the application of evaluative procedures that are based upon normative standards embedded in the knowledge itself, or, in some instances, established by authorities external to the classroom. Hence in the processes of evaluating and grading, public school teaching could be described as partially bureaucratic in that calculable rules based on intellectual rationality are evident in the assessment of pupil progress and competence. In contrast to this it can be noted that rules of this kind do not normally exist in the evaluation of the competence and performance of the teachers themselves.

Elements of Congruency

The one specific comment offered by Weber (1947:332) that relates directly to the technology of bureaucracies stresses the recording and thus the standardization of "acts, decisions and rules" in writing. Teachers in all kinds of schools employ the classroom technologies discussed above, but, in many modern schools, and especially in public schools, teachers are also required to spend much time creating or consulting "acts, decisions and rules ... formulated in writing." The extent to which this is so may not be immediately obvious, but public school teachers are guided by written curricular documents, procedural rules and memoranda, many of their repsonsibilities are specified in written legislation and they are required to update and consult student records as well as prepare, in many cases, written unit and lesson plans. Furthermore, student and teacher activities in classrooms frequently focus on the creation and consultation of written records of what is done and learned. However, much of this documentation and record keeping engaged in by teachers is tangential to the core technology of teaching as such and appears as a manifestation of the second type of technology identified as characteristic of public schools: the long linked process type of technology that is related to the flow of students through the school.

Workflow-Technology as a Bureaucratic Process in Public Schools

The major workflow of public schools is determined by the progression of students through the curriculum grades. This has been previously described as being akin to Thompson's (1967) "long-linked" type of technology and Woodward's (1965) process type. A long-linked technology is associated with the production of standardized products and characterized by serial inter-dependence between tasks or processes. This type of technology is that epitomized in assembly line manufacturing and is frequently based on strategies of vertical integration of a number of subordinate organizations.

Woodward's (1965) original work distinguished between small batch, large batch and process types of technologies, but some confusion is evident in her differentiation between the last two types. This confusion stems from the original technological classification (Woodward, 1965:39) which distinguished eleven different ways of organizing the production process, three of which were classified as "large batch" and two as "process." However, one of each of these sub-classifications was termed "mass" production. The throughput in public schools and schooling structures would appear to be associated with technological and structural features that reflect certain aspects of both of these types of mass production.

Public school throughput as mass production. In considering the workflow technology of public schools, the appropriate perspective is that provided by considering the "production" problem of converting the grade one intake in a given year into graduate output twelve years later. The teaching-learning experiences that occur in each grade or each subject class in the higher grades form the serial sequence of activities that contribute to the final knowledge output. From the point of view of the organizational analyst, therefore, it is appropriate to consider public schools as sub-assemblies of regional systems which are, in turn, sub-assemblies of the state wide schooling structure. Each class of students is also a sub-assembly in the pattern of public schools and within the twelve year cycle students will move through the total system along a finite number of paths. In detailed analysis the characteristic organization of the sub-assemblies of the total system and the decision rules that determine which path students will take would be of importance. Thus some schooling structures are designed on a 6 - 3 - 3 pattern, which denotes 6 years of elementary schooling, 3 of junior high and 3 of senior high school, and the major decision rules relate to the evaluations of student knowledge and ability made at the break points between these productive sub-systems. Whether these three schooling sub-systems are geographically separate or contained within a single building is not of great importance in this type of analysis. Other possible structures are the 8 - 4 pattern evident in Ontario or the 7 - 4 pattern in the United Kingdom or the 6 - 2 - 4 pattern in parts of the United States. However, detailed analysis is not the objective here for there are technological features common to all of these structures and these features are partially similar to the productive process in both of Woodward's mass production types of technology.

1. Planning horizons. One common characteristic is that the planning horizons in mass production extend over a considerably greater time span than they do in unit and small batch production. Analagous to this in schooling structures would appear to be the development of curriculum guides and materials at the structure and system levels which will typically extend over a much greater time period than the lesson and unit plans developed from them, and the management planning relating to accommodation, staffing and budgetting. Planning and scheduling appear as much more important facets of the workflow technology of schooling systems and this is evident not only in the board and committee rooms of the local and central authorities, but also in the manner in which timetabling is approached in individual schools. In Weber's terms, this type of technology is decidedly bureaucratic in the reliance on technical rules and norms that will be of importance in these planning and scheduling activities.

Furthermore, it is quite clear that "administrative acts, decisions and rules" related to these activities will have to be preserved and communicated between the other concerned offices in the hierarchy. Great reliance will be placed on detailed budgetting, computer printouts and written proposals and records of all kinds.

2. Research and development. Both mass production technologies studied by Woodward (1965; 1970) embodied and relied upon extensive research and development activity. This too is a feature of the system and structure technology of public schools not only in the development of new curricula but also in the study of alternate methods of organization. This is also a bureaucratic feature in that reliance is being placed on the seeking of technical solutions to procedural and developmental problems and "science", the epitome of intellectual rationalism, is given full rein.

3. Segmentation. The structure of mass production organizations was considered by Woodward (1965:145) to be "much more segmented" than in small batch organizations:

> Managers and supervisors were more closely identified with their functions; they were in different reference groups and concerned as much, if not more, with their own sectional interest than with the overall objectives of their firms.

Furthermore, the planning, production and control activities in these organizations were commonly segmented and separated. In Weber's terms the offices and spheres of competence were much more clearly defined. This would seem the case in the management hierarchies of school systems and structures and especially so in the manner in which local school executives identify with "their" system rather than the overall state structure.

Division of functions between chief executive and the governing sub-system. Primarily because of the reliance placed on technical means in these types of organizations, the governing boards had little control over, influence on or knowledge about the production process as such. These boards "did not make detailed decisions about the 'how', 'how much', 'where' and 'when' of production ... but were responsible for the planning of facilities and the general determination of activity levels" (Woodward, 1965:170). This is almost exactly the situation in which school boards and other collegial bodies related to the central authority find themselves. Furthermore, these bodies, as well as those in Woodward's (1965:170) mass production organizations, find themselves highly dependent upon their chief executive who has the technical knowledge and competence to manage the technological process. This is highly congruent to Weber's expectations of the dependent relationships between monocratic executives and their collegial governing bodies.

Automatic production. Woodward (1965) observed that in the organizations embodying a continual process type of technology, the product emerged "almost automatically" once the productive process had been set in motion. This would seem the case with public schooling structures, for once the schooling and the management systems are established, graduates, and the necessary plans and decisions necessary to ensure continual production of future graduates, emerge automatically. This is not the case at the classroom level, where variety in method and approach are evident and where the successful learning of knowledge remains contingent upon the competence of the teachers who may fail in in their tasks. Nevertheless, the orderly progress of pupils from grade to grade and the close correlation between age and grade studied which results, ensures that on the broader scale of operations, production is essentially routinized and predictable. Thus, given accurate enrolment figures, the various external authorities know within relatively precise limits how many graduates can be expected in a given year. To all intents and purposes, the phenomenon of curricular equifinality assures that these graduates will be relatively standardized. That is to say that all public school graduates within the state will fall into a number of homogeneous graduation categories. In Woodwardian terms, the degree of standardization will provide the main means of deciding whether the technology is of the process or large batch type: process technologies produce "stable products ... subject to a minimum of variety" (Woodward, 1965:195) , while large batch technologies produce several kinds of products on a large scale which are similar within, but differ between, categories. The extent to which this is the case in the "production" process of public schools is not easily determined, but once again these features appear congruent to what one would expect in a highly bureaucratic technology: standardization, impersonality and "routineness" all being major aspects of both situations.

Two dimensional structures. Regardless of whether the single product continuous flow or the variable large batch technology prevails, it seems that both are characteristically associated with a two dimensional type of organizational structure which embodies "two primary tasks and two cultures" (Woodward, 1965:164). "There is an inner ring centred on the plant itself and between the people in this ring and peripheral departments ... there is very little coordination." This would appear to be very much the case in public schooling structures but the division between the two "tasks and cultures" is greatly exacerbated in that they are themselves based on two different technologies. Thus, the small batch and unit technology of the classroom is quite separate and distinct from the long linked automatic production process that characterizes the administrative super-structures that overlay the classrooms and the schools themselves.

A Synthesis

The workflow technology in public schools has been described as involving a continuous process type of technology that requires long range planning and scheduling at a high level within schooling structures and systems. Furthermore, it seems highly congruent to the technology that would be expected in a Weberian bureaucracy, especially insofar as the necessary tasks require administrative ability of a highly technical kind. Classroom level technology is of a different order: it involves relatively short term planning, an affective rather than technical involvement, and requires "craftsmanship" of the highest order. These technologies can be seen as congruent to two broad spheres of expertise and responsibility: (1) management, which appears to be bureaucratic, and (2) teaching, which appears to be non-bureaucratic. These two spheres of action can be seen to be quite separate and distinct, and to a large degree, are executed independently of each other. However, there are areas of inter-penetration in that the teachers are required to be aware of and confrom to technical rules and standards promulgated through the workings of the management technology, and to act as extensions of this technology at times. Thus, attendance records and cumulative student records, pupil promotion records and standardized test results all constitute vital data necessary for the operation of the more mechanistic process technology and, although some of these data may be of value to the teachers who collect them, they are primarily required to ensure that the schooling system at large may function adequately. Hence, much of the bureaucratic paperwork engaged in by teachers could be regarded as peripheral to their main technological function and could serve to make their major responsibilities appear far more congruent to the tasks of Weberian officials than they may actually be.

Summary and Conclusions

The main points covered in this discussion of public school and bureaucratic technology can be summarised by reference to a conceptual model devised by Woodward (1970:53) and reproduced in Figure 8:1

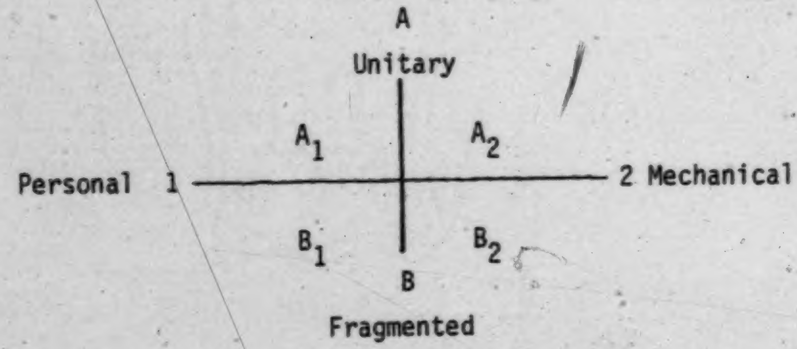


Figure 8:1

CATEGORIES OF TECHNOLOGY AND CONTROL
AS POSITED BY WOODWARD

This model is based on two dimensions of control that are considered to describe the manner in which an organization will attempt to manage its productive processes. The personal-mechanical dimension distinguishes between personalized and automated or mechanical methods of control. In terms of the previous discussion, classroom teaching depends on personal control methods but the control of the overall process of student workflow through a schooling system is more mechanistic and bureaucratic. The unitary-fragmented dimension refers to the number of sub-systems that must be coodinated in the production process. Unitary denotes a single system such as that evident in a single classroom or lesson plan and fragmented a multi-system organization as in the case of the classrooms and schools in a schooling system or structure.

Four types of control system are thus defined, and it would seem that the A_1 type of personal - unitary control is appropriate to the classroom level situation, while the B_2 type is more typical of the control system characteristically operated by principals, superintendents and deputy ministers. Table 7:1 reproduces Woodward's (1965:54) classification of technology types by type of control system, as based on her original data (Woodward, 1965).

Of the four types of control system posited by Woodward, the B_2 and the A_2 types are much more congruent to Weber's model of bureaucracy than are the A_1 and B_1 types. The tight relationships between the bureaucratic and non-bureaucratic systems of control demonstrate the major thesis developed above.

The small batch production process considered characteristic of class teaching is apparently a non-bureaucratic method of doing work,

Table 8:1

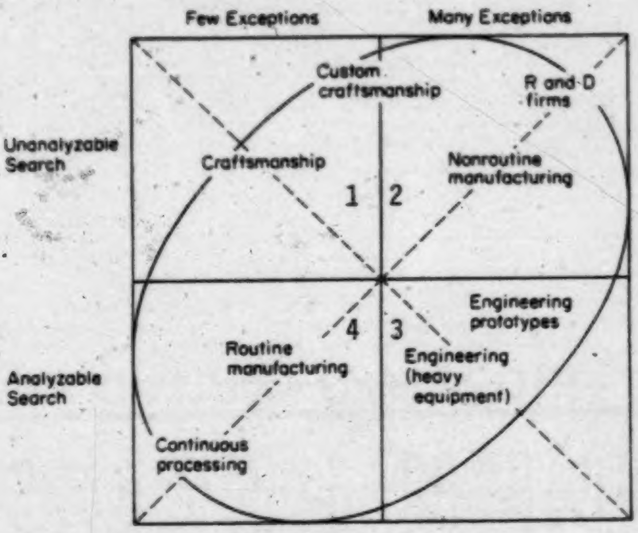
RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN CONTROL SYSTEMS AND TECHNOLOGY AS OBSERVED IN THE SOUTH ESSEX STUDIES

	Type of Control Systems			
Types of technology	A_1 %	B_1 %	B_2 %	A_2 %
Unit and small batch production	75	25		
Large batch and mass production	15	35	40	10
Process production			5	95
Number of organizations	28	21	18	33

Source: Woodward 1970:54

but the overall management of student progress in public schooling systems and structures appears much more bureaucratic.

This technological dichotomy gains additional support from the technological typologies of Perrow (1970) and Thompson (1967). Perrow's scheme conceptualizes work processes in terms of the number of exceptional cases encountered and the degree to which the problems posed by these exceptional cases are analyzable. The resultant model is given in Figure 8:2. In terms of the Weberian scheme, the key dimension in this model is the degree to which problems are analyzable, for the reliance on intellectual calculation and seeking technical solutions to problems through the application of intellectually derived 'rules' is highly characteristic of bureaucratic technology. Hence quadrants 3 and 4 in the Perrow model would appear to accommodate the system wide process technology of public schools. Quadrant 1 in the model would seem more applicable to the teaching technology of public


Few Exceptions
Many Exceptions
Unanalyzable Search
Analyzable Search
Custom craftsmanship
R and D firms
Craftsmanship
Nonroutine manufacturing
1
2
3
4
Engineering prototypes
Routine manufacturing
Engineering (heavy equipment)
Continuous processing

Source: Perrow (1970:83)

Figure 8:2

PERROW'S MODEL OF
ORGANIZATIONAL TECHNOLOGY

schools, especially as Perrow chooses to describe this type of technology as "craftsmanship" a term also used by Woodward to describe small batch production and by Lortie and the present writer to describe teaching.

Thompson's (1967) long linked type of technology has previously been described as accommodating the workflow management of schooling systems. Of his other two types, the 'intensive' technology aptly describes the type of work situation faced by public school teachers in that it requires a selection be made between a wide range of available skills, resources and techniques before the tasks at hand can be discharged. Thompson refers to intensive technolocy as "custom" technology, which is a term consonant to the notion of craftsmanship but dissonant to the image of bureaucratic technology inherent in Weber's model.

In closing, reference can again be made to the difficulties encountered in this discussion in attempting to maintain a focus on the public school itself. It would seem that in the case of technology, the school itself may not be a particularly important analytical unit for the two technologies identified are manifest at the classroom-teaching and the system-management levels. The discussion of organizational structure offered in the previous section produced a similar dichotomy, in that the major spheres of competence identified were those of teaching and management. Furthermore, the teaching staff, whether this is defined as the teachers assigned to a school or all those employed by a local authority, was described as being relatively undifferentiated in a bureaucratic sense, while the system and structure wide management employees are organized much more in accord with the principles of a bureaucratic hierarchy.

The school itself tends to fade into the background of these discussions. It provides the physical parameters within which the teachers apply the batch technology of the classroom and serves as an administrative and data collection point for the process technology of school management. It would seem possible, therefore, that public schools could be regarded as merely systems that are formed by the expedient aggregation of classes according to structural and technological terms of reference established by the superordinate authorities and the contingencies of the regional environment. Thus, major differences between organizational performance and effectiveness could probably be expected to appear at the classroom and school system levels, rather than at the level of the public school itself. Interestingly, this observation finds some support in Greenfield's (1963) study of schooling effectiveness in Alberta. One finding of this research was that when student ability was controlled and environmental effects on student achievement were partialled out, the greatest source of the variation in student achievement in academic subjects was associated with the classroom level of operation. Differences between systems were also of apparent importance, whereas differences between individual schools appeared quite minor (Greenfield, 1963:138; 1964:29).

CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter began by considering the congruency between the structure of bureaucratic organizations and public schools. The main conclusion was that the structure of public schools is only partially congruent to the bureaucratic model, whereas the organization of the extended hierarchies of regional and state wide public schooling systems appears more bureaucratic. Public schools appear to evidence flat, often poorly differentiated management hierarchies, and a division of teaching labour that does not seem congruent to that described in Weber's model. Only two clearly marked spheres of competence and authority, and thus bureaucratic offices, were identified, these being associated with overall management responsibility and classroom teaching duties respectively. Consequently, the depth structure of public schools was described as having only three strata of which only the top two relate to the "administrative staff" (in the Weberian sense), of the public schools, the lowest strata being the student "workers". Thus, the staff of public schools do not appear to be highly bureaucratized and, indeed, the organization of teaching staff could be considered to embody some aspects of the matrix type of organization.

The second section of the chapter attempted to compare bureaucratic and schooling technologies. The major distinction between the cellular structure of the public school itself and the more markedly hierarchical and functionally differentiated management structure of schooling systems noted in the discussion of organizational structure reappeared through the recognition of two differing types of technology: on one hand the preparation, delivery and evaluation of lessons by teachers appears to conform to the craft type of activity recognized by Woodward, Perrow and Thompson; on the other the overall management of schools and schooling systems seems to be more akin to the mass, continuous, routine and long-linked type of technology identified by these analysts.

A number of additional points were made in the chapter which relate to the structural and technological distinctions summarized above. These included the close identity of teachers with their students, subjects and other teachers in similar situations, the importance to teachers of the psychic rewards that accrue from successful teaching, and an apparent lack of teacher identity with the bureaucratic norms of the administrative superstructure. Taken together, these observations suggest that the classes within public schools could provide a more sensible level of analysis than the schools themselves.

In conclusion, it would appear that Weber's model of bureaucratic structure and technology is not highly congruent to public schools. Some aspects of public schools do appear to evidence congruency to the bureaucratic model, but to a large degree these would appear to represent extensions of the management hierarchy and technology that appears to be associated with schooling systems and structures. Furthermore the constituent structural units of public school, the class, and the technology utilized in the teaching process, would appear to be decidedly non-bureaucratic.

Chapter Nine

CONGRUENCY BETWEEN THE MODELS
3: SYSTEMS OF ORDER AND AUTHORITY

> In any large city, almost everyone is an employee, employing his working hours in exact ways predetermined by others. Even his manners may be prescribed. So far as sheer individual freedom is concerned, there was more diffused freedom in the City of London in the year 1633, when Charles the First was King than there is today in any industrial city in the world.
>
> Alfred North Whitehead

INTRODUCTION

Within Weber's scheme of things the emergence of bureaucracy as the dominant form of organization in a society (or civilization) is associated with a process of "disenchantment". A reliance on revelations by oracles, prophecies and messiahs and the wisdom, justice and "divine rule" of kings, elders and traditional personae is replaced by a belief that most, if not all, things are subject to cognitive comprehension and that decisions can be best made on the basis of intellectual calculation. Systems of order based on traditional or charismatic allegiances are replaced by sets of intellectually analyzable rules, and it is the existence of legally based systems of order of this kind that forms the major foundation for Weber's model of bureaucracy.

In this, the last of the major analytical chapters of the study, the major problem is to determine the extent to which bureaucratic systems of order form the basis of action and authority in public schools. In attempting a discussion of this kind, Weber's methodology requires that cognizance be taken of the possibility that the operative systems of order in public schools may contain "enchanted" elements of tradition and charisma. For this reason, some attention is given to Weber's models of traditional and charismatic organizations. Furthermore, it is widely asserted in the literature that Weber overlooked the existence of professionalism as an alternate base for the exercise of authority and that professional knowledge provides an important source of legitimacy for social action in schools and other human service organizations. The extent to which this may be the case is discussed in various contexts as the chapter proceeds.

The chapter is developed under two main headings. In the first section, an attempt is made to identify the various systems of order that may be taken to exist in public schools and to estimate the degree to which these may be taken as bureaucratic. The second section concentrates on the exercise of imperative coordination in public schools and the manner in which this may be legitimated by reference to the various systems of order.

SYSTEMS OF ORDER IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Considerable attention was devoted to the concept of systems of order or regulation in social systems in the consideration of Weber's sociology given in Chapter Five. This may be summarized by recalling that social action in any corporate group is considered to be influenced and guided by a set of maxims or rules which may be acknowledged as legitimate by the members of the collectivity for a variety of reasons.

The concept of a rule has a very broad meaning for Weber and equates primarily to the existence of any kind of normative standard against which events may be judged. Two different types of systems of order are recognized by Weber according to the method by which compliance to the constituent rules is enforced. Conventional systems of order are essentially sets of informal norms enforced by general social acceptance but "legal" rules are any that are enforced by the use of some means of coercion against those who do not conform. Despite the fact that members of social systems may acknowledge a system of order as being valid because of traditional, emotional or absolute reasons, if it is ultimately enforced by the exercise of some kind of authority, then it is also enforced by "legal" means. All organizations will embody a system of order of some kind to regulate and direct members and the manner in which this is legitimated and enforced will be of importance in determining the nature of that organization. Furthermore, it is clear from Weber's exposition of these concepts that a number of systems of order may exist within a single social system and that this may produce confusion and conflict within and between members.

The main objectives in this section are to apply these concepts to the public school in an attempt to identify the various systems of order that may be operative and to classify these as being congruent or incongruent to the systems of order that are held to exist in Weber's model of bureaucracy.

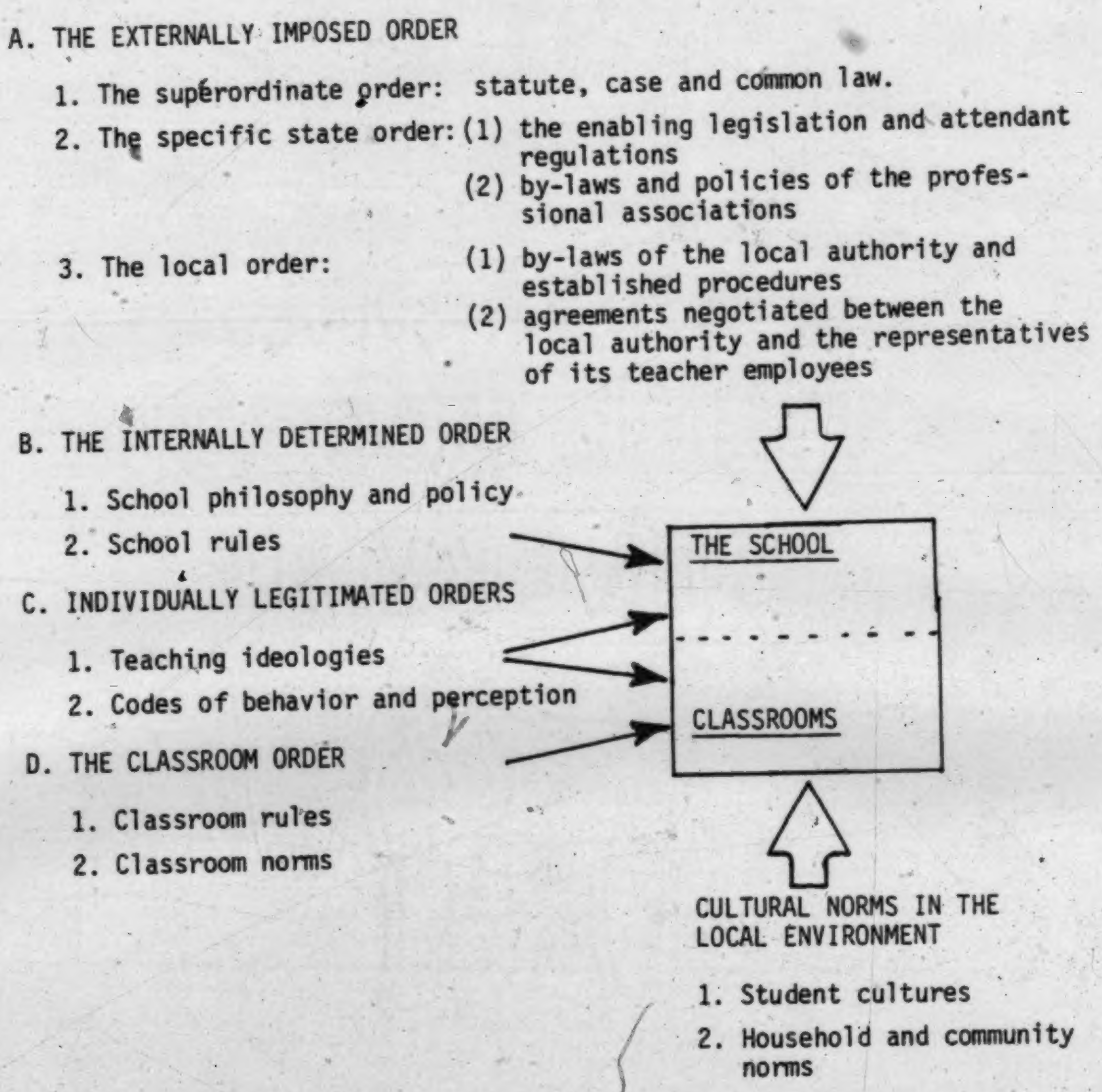
Identifying the Major Systems of Order

Figure 8:1 attempts to identify and relate the major sets of normative standards that would appear to be of importance in public schools. This figure omits the general socio-cultural norms that will regulate the conventional behavior of members of the society at large, as these seem irrelevant in the present analysis and any of major importance are likely to be reflected in the other systems of order identified. Each of the sets of rules noted in the figure will be discussed in turn.

The Externally Imposed Order

Any rule or regulation promulgated by agencies external to the school itself and which is capable of enforcement in some legal fashion forms part of the externally imposed system of order. Four major sets of such rules are recognized in Figure 8:1.

1). The body of general and specific law enacted by the state and in federated states the superior government, and enforced by the police, other officials and the courts. This system of order will include statute law such as provisions in the criminal code as well as interpretations and judgements relevant to the administration of such legislated rules. This superordinate system of order also includes the body of traditionally derived principles and rules of action known as the common law. Provisions in the whole body of the superordinate order may have a direct or tangential effect on the actions of the members of public schools. A good example of direct influence is the provision in the criminal code of Canada that allows persons in authority the judicious use of force in gaining the compliance of their subordinates



A. THE EXTERNALLY IMPOSED ORDER

1. The superordinate order: statute, case and common law.
2. The specific state order: (1) the enabling legislation and attendant regulations
   (2) by-laws and policies of the professional associations
3. The local order: (1) by-laws of the local authority and established procedures
   (2) agreements negotiated between the local authority and the representatives of its teacher employees

B. THE INTERNALLY DETERMINED ORDER

1. School philosophy and policy
2. School rules

C. INDIVIDUALLY LEGITIMATED ORDERS

1. Teaching ideologies
2. Codes of behavior and perception

D. THE CLASSROOM ORDER

1. Classroom rules
2. Classroom norms

CULTURAL NORMS IN THE LOCAL ENVIRONMENT

1. Student cultures
2. Household and community norms

Figure 9:1

SYSTEMS OF ORDER IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

for it is this section that provides the legal basis for the use of corporal punishment in schools. Indirect provisions are well illustrated by the statutes, case and common law principles that will have a bearing on judicial decisions involving school members. All of the statute law in this system of order is bureaucratic in that it has been established through a formal legislative process, and is thus intellectually rational and it is enforced through the use of the authority of the state. However, both case and common law form the basis of what Weber (1978b:352) calls Kadi and empirical justice, and these, containing as they do large elements of tradition and precedent, are not legal-rational systems of order.

2. The second component of the externally imposed order is composed of the rules that are specifically concerned with the establishment and operation of public schools within the state. The major bodies of law in this system are the enabling legislation passed by the unit of government that exercises constitutionally derived or expropriated control over this area of public policy, and any regulations made under the authority of this statute. These rules constitute a bureaucratic system of order in that they are again legitimated by legislated authority. The provisions of this system of order will include the specifications of the qualifications for teachers and other professional personnel, the criteria for determining those students subject to compulsory attendance and all the elements of the formal curriculum promulgated by the central authority. A second but analytically distinct set of rules in the specific state order is that promulgated by the teachers' professional association. This will include normative provisions contained in a code of ethics or professional behavior and any formally adopted policies of

this association that are enforced in some fashion. Rules contained in a code of ethics will be legal in both of Weber's meanings, for they will be adopted by a constitutional legislative procedure and enforced by disciplinary bodies established by the executive of the association. In the Canadian case, a further element of legality is assured in that the provincial associations all receive their charters from the provincial legislatures, and the normative rules governing the conduct of members, as well as the coercive powers to discipline members, have the status of by-laws to this constitution.

3. Whereas the legally based and enforced rules contained in the specific state order apply to all public schools within the territory governed by the state, the local elements of the imposed order may (and in many cases will) differ between local authorities. The main elements in this system of order will be the policies enacted by the local board and any agreements negotiated between the board and its employees. In the first case all those policies and procedures that are established in a proper fashion by the local authority in a formally constituted meeting have the status of legally established and enforceable by-laws. In this sense, "proper fashion" means according to the procedures and regulations in the enabling legislation and any other relevant rules in the superordinate order. Properly negotiated agreements between representatives of the board and the teachers or other employees fall under Weber's (1947:130) provision of "a voluntary agreement of the interested parties" and will have the status of a legally binding and enforceable contract. All elements of the locally imposed order are therefore both rational and legal and are bureaucratic systems of order.

Summary. With the exception of the provisions in the bodies of common and case law, all the elements of the systems of order that are imposed on the public school by external agencies are bureaucratic systems of order in Weber's usage of the term. All of the rules specified in these various orders have been intentionally established on the basis of "expediency or rational values or both" and they can be taken as providing "a consistent system of abstract rules" (Weber, 1947:329-330). Furthermore, the administration of these laws consists essentially of "the application of these rules to particular cases" in schools, systems and other elements of the state schooling structure (Weber, 1947:330).

The Internally Determined Order

In addition to the provisions contained in the externally imposed order, many of which will have a direct influence on the behavior of members of the school, public schools will evidence sets of norms, rules and regulations that have been determined within the school itself. This order will include any formally declared statement of goals, objectives or philosophy, such as may be published in a school handbook and any rules that have been established to govern the behavior of members. These rules will include formally promulgated regulations such as statements designed to control the movement of personnel in the building and may also include technical procedures relating to the work of the teachers. Examples of the latter type of rule could be internal regulations specifying how student examinations are to be marked and the marks recorded or procedures established to govern the distribution of teaching supplies. Other rules, in the Weberian usage of the term, will also include the timetable, which details and coordinates the division of labour, and any explicit or implicit normative expectations that influence the social relationships between teachers or between teachers and students.

In addition, elements of the externally imposed order will have some direct influence on behavior in the school. However, the provisions of the external order which are most pertinent to this discussion are those that define and delimit the authority of the principal. Should clear authority be given to principals to establish regulations within certain areas of action, then these can be regarded as potentially bureaucratic in that the principal has been accorded legal authority to impose regulations. Nevertheless, it would seem necessary that any rules established unilaterally under such provisions should also be consistent and "rational" in the sense that they do not run counter to other provisions in the externally imposed bureaucratic order. As Weber (1947:330) observes, such rules should be,

> in the rational pursuit of the interests which are specified in the order governing the corporate group within the limits laid down by legal precepts and following principles ... which are approved in the order governing the group, or at least not disapproved by it.

Further limitations are embedded in this quotation for there are evidently several orders "governing the corporate group" of the school and although a principal's authority to impose rules may be legitimated in the order imposed by the superordinate legislative and administrative structure, it is possible that rules unilaterally determined by him under this authority may run counter to general principles relating to the teaching-learning process which are legitimated by the personal ideologies of teachers. The saliency of such ideologies should not be underestimated. The literature (Litwak, 1961; Lortie, 1969; 1975; 1977; Corwin, 1965; 1967; 1974; Etzioni, 1961; 1969; Peabody, 1964; Hanson, 1973; 1976; 1979) lays great stress on the legitimacy of professional norms in schools and other human service organizations, and the methodological ideologies of teachers are certainly of importance. In Newberry's (1979:24-5) study, for example, beginning teachers consistently avoided seeking guidance from teachers who were not perceived as teaching the way they "wanted to", and Hanson's (1976) respondents evidenced a distinct identity with teachers whom they perceived as sharing a common ideology. Furthermore, it would seem that the structural and technological divisions between management and teaching activities provide a firm basis for differing sources of legitimation. Finally, it was noted previously that principals are not usually accorded any of the "means of compulsion" that Weber (1947:328) sees as necessary in an ideally typical setting.

Thus, it would seem that any unilaterally declared rules cannot be easily enforced by principals unless they do not run counter to teacher ideologies and are thus legitimated by them.

Nonetheless, this does not deny the possibility that the internally determined order could be highly bureaucratic, for, as Weber (1947:329) observes, legal rational norms may also be established by agreement.

Establishment of internal orders. The establishment of school policy, philosophy and rules through some form of formal discussion and agreement would seem in itself to provide an intellectually rational and potentially legalistic method of legitimating the internal order. However, the manner in which such meetings are conducted and decisions made would appear to be of importance in determining congruency with the bureaucratic ideal. Should the meetings be governed by parliamentary "rules of order", minutes kept, decisions taken by majority vote and codified in the form of sets of written statements which are then held to be binding on all members of the school, then a high degree of congruency would appear to obtain. On the other hand, if the procedure is less formal and should the principal retain the prerogative to make the final decision, even though he has no clear bureaucratic authority to do so under the externally imposed order, then this method of making policy and establishing rules would appear akin to the actions expected in Weber's traditional form of organization. The point at issue is, of course, the establishment of policies, procedures and rules that will direct and constrain the behavior of school members and not the making of procedural and operational decisions. Nevertheless, it is worthy of note that the manner in which such meetings are generally conducted also has a bearing on the type of order operative within a school. We can further note at this point that in a Weberian bureaucracy most operational decisions would presumably not require a group decision for the relevant terms of reference would already be built into the system of order. But to return to the main point, a majority vote in a formally constituted and conducted meeting involving all staff members or delegated representatives of the staff at large, would seem to provide a basis for the development of an essentially bureaucratic system of order. The practice of a majority vote is specifically identified by Weber (1947:131-2) as being central to modern conceptions of legitimacy and he notes that it embodies the element of compulsion that he sees as a necessary part of legal procedures.

Furthermore, the procedure of majority decisions could be expected to gain additional legitimacy in that this is the procedure exemplified in the legislative bodies in the environment of public schools. Nevertheless, consensus decision-making is not seen as expressly non-bureaucratic by Weber, although unilateral decisions which are not legitimated in a rational-legal order are. Finally it would seem necessary for any rules decided upon in such meetings to be incorporated into a written code of normative statements which would be distributed to all members of the school to whom they apply. Decisions regarding appropriate procedures, behavior and, if necessary, punishments, would then be made by applying these rules to each particular case (Weber, 1947:330).

Some research findings. There would appear to be little empirical literature dealing with how internal school philosophy and policy is established, but there is much dealing with the process of decision-making.

This literature (Sharma, 1955; Bridges, 1967; Miklos, 1970; Ratsoy, 1973; Alutto and Belasco, 1972) suggests that many somewhat minor procedural and operational matters are subjects for decisions by sub-groups or the whole assembly of the faculty, and that majority voting is discouraged on theoretical grounds, suggesting that a high degree of congruency to the bureaucratic ideal may not be typical.

In the making of more general decisions, some insight is provided in a paper by Hodgkins and Herriott (1970:99) which contains questionnaire survey data obtained from Gross and Herriott's (1965) National Principalship study in the United States. These data have been adjusted and collapsed prior to presentation in Table 9:1. The 3,039 respondents reported that their principals presented teacher suggestions to the school faculty for a vote far more often than not. The form of the survey question is taken as excluding the possibility of anything other than an essentially parliamentary type of procedure and thus the findings in the table suggest that there could well be a bureaucratic

Table 9:1

FREQUENCY WITH WHICH TEACHER SUGGESTIONS WERE PERCEIVED AS BEING PUT TO A VOTE BY TEACHERS RESPONDING TO THE NATIONAL PRINCIPALSHIP STUDY

Frequency with which principal placed teacher suggestions to a vote	Curriculum Level of Teachers			
	Primary (K-3) %	Junior (4-6) %	Intermediate (7-9) %	Senior (10-12) %
Always Almost Always and Frequently	75	73	67	61
Occasionally	13	12	16	10
Almost Never and Never	12	15	17	29
N	626	506	1058	849

Source: Hodgkins and Herriott (1970:99). Percentages derived from cumulative percentages in original table and response categories collapsed as shown.

element in the internal formulation of internally agreed systems of order in public schools. The available information does not, however, specify the actual procedure used, how often the faculty actually voted, the proportion of "motions" submitted by teachers or whether or not particularly important policies or regulations were determined in some other manner.

A study conducted in Ontario by Knoop and O'Reilly (1977) which sampled 216 public school teachers and principals, affords an additional view of perceived and desired decision making procedures. Their results suggest that parliamentary and other democratically based techniques were preferred by both teachers and principals to consensual or autocratic methods. Their report summarizes preferences for decision making in task areas related to curriculum, classroom management, and the instructional program as well as "general school organization"; but unfortunately, the researchers do not report teacher and principal preference by decision areas. One interesting finding of this study was the imbalance between teacher and principal desires. The teachers perceived that the principal acting alone was the dominant method by which decisions were made in their schools, and reported a desire for higher reliance on democratic-parliamentary procedures. Principals perceived that democratic-parliamentary methods were most commonly used and evidenced a desire that these were to be preferred, especially if the procedure allowed them the final decision after opinions had been sounded.

These findings represent only a sample of the available research findings on school decision making but suggest that a clear cut bureaucratic approach to decision making may not be typical of public schools. Thus, although there would appear to be no authoritative study which could shed light on the manner in which philosophy, policy and specific rules are established it would seem reasonable to impute that formalized bureaucratic procedures may not predominate, although elements of such procedures, especially majority voting, are clearly present.

The Internally Negotiated Order

The absence of a formally negotiated codified order constraining and directing appropriate social action would mean that a public school is not regulated in a manner congruent to the bureaucratic model. However the existence of an internally negotiated order may not be of particular importance if all or most of the important areas of action are regulated by the externally imposed order, and whether this is so will obviously vary empirically. But, whatever the case, it is certain that some of the elements of an internally determined order will derive from internal negotiation of "rights", standards and expectations.

The processes associated with and the character of informally negotiated orders in public schools have been described by Hanson (1976; 1979) on the basis of an observational study of three American schools in a community termed Silverwood. Hanson (1979:119-20) re-invents Weber's concept of spheres of competence which he terms "spheres of influence" and identifies the teacher and school management division of competencies and control noted previously, observing that the teachers are accorded considerable autonomy in their classrooms while the principal is accorded overall management of school wide activities. He (Hanson, 1979:124) then notes that "A considerable amount of overlap exists between the spheres ... which requires extensive collaboration of parties on all sides in order to complete shared tasks." His study revealed a considerable amount of informal negotiation, bargaining and "give and take" between principals and teachers, teachers and teachers, and teachers and pupils, which lead to the development of relatively stable but uncodified normative standards. The development of these "rules of the game" as they are described by Hanson (1979:128) would seem decidedly non-bureaucratic. However, Weber was well aware that much informal power is exercised in social systems and clearly distinguished between legitimately established systems of order and conventional social action. Thus, informal behavior of the type described by Hansen is to be expected in Weberian bureaucracies, but it will occur within the legitimately established order. The point of interest arising from Hanson's study is that the behavior described appeared to constitute the major way in which important as well as trivial elements of the normative order were established in the schools studied. If this is typical of public schools, that is to say, if the major elements of the internally determined system of order rest almost entirely on *ad hoc* informal negotiations, then this is evidence of gross incongruity with the bureauratic model.

Summary. Two bases for the establishment of bureaucratic types of systems of order internal to public schools have been recognized: 1) by the unilateral exercise of authority legitimated by the externally imposed bureaucratic order and accepted as legitimate by other members of the school; and 2) through formalized negotiation modelled on legislative procedures. The extent to which internal school goals, philosophies and rules are determined in either of these ways is unclear and a potential for decidedly non-bureaucratic orders has been identified. Thus, although it is possible for the internally determined order in public schools to be of the bureaucratic type, it does not seem possible to determine whether or not this is typical. That an internal order of some kind will exist is certain, but there seems no strong basis for identifying the form this will take. Finally, it should be noted that the mere existence of school rules, even if they are codified in a handbook of some kind, does not automatically ensure that a bureaucratic system of order obtains. What is important is whether these rules are accorded legitimacy by the members of the school and the basis on which this legitimacy is attributed. Should this be anything other than rational-legal grounds, then these written rules represent a non-bureaucratic order.

Individually Legitimated Orders

Whether or not an internally agreed philosophy of teaching has been established in a public school, each teacher may be expected to subscribe to a particular set of normative rules relating to how the educative process in their classrooms should be effected. In terms of Weber's model, individual pedagogic philosophies of this kind could be taken as forming part of the technical competencies of the teacher-officials who are expected to use this knowledge as required. The teachers will therefore be accorded autonomy to discharge their technical duties in whatever method they see as appropriate, providing this does not contravene the principles of the established order. Thus, although teachers in public schools may employ many approaches to their teaching, this is not necessarily incongruent to the Weberian model. However, should one or more of these teachers adopt procedures that conflict with or contravene the established order, then the bureaucratic model requires the superordinate official(s) to exercise their authority with the intent of establishing conformity. In doing this, they will be guided by the relevant rules in both the externally imposed and, if such exists, the internally agreed systems of order.

Much of the tension and conflict between teachers and principals and between teachers themselves that has been documented or analyzed in the literature (Bidwell, 1956; Corwin, 1965b; Peabody, 1964;

Pusey, 1976; Hanson, 1973; 1976; 1979) would appear to stem from perceived infringements of systems of order as described. A principal may perceive that the techniques used by a teacher contravene rules or principles established in the enabling legislation, board policy or the philosophy of the school and attempt to modify the teacher's behavior through the use of imperative control or some other form of power (Wahlund, 1972). The teacher may then defend his actions by some justification of his pedagogical practices that seeks to validate them by demonstrating that they do not contravene the rules of the order or that they are justified by some professional body of knowledge. The problems of authority that inhere in this situation are considered below, the main point of interest at this time being the manner in which the various normative standards are legitimated by the participants in conflicts of this kind.

Professionalism. Disagreements over the appropriate methods of teaching and processes relating to teaching in schools are commonly explained in the literature in terms of a clash between professional and bureaucratic norms (Vollmer and Mills, 1966; Litwak, 1961; Hoy and Miskel, 1978). The normative standards that guide the administrator's actions and which he seeks to enforce are viewed as "bureaucratic", while those used by teachers to justify their actions are termed "professional". The use of both of these terms could be considered as misleading within Weber's frame of reference. In the first place, the rules being enforced by a principal may not be bureaucratic rules and he may seek to legitimate his authority to enforce them on non-bureaucratic grounds; that is to say, it is possible that a principal's use of his hierarchical position may be *ultra vires* in reference to the imposed bureaucratic order, but be legitimated on traditional or other grounds. Even if the principal's actions are bureaucratic, however, in that he is attempting to force compliance to intellectually analyzable rules established in the externally imposed or internally negotiated systems of order through the use of sanctions legitimated in these orders, the classification of the teacher's frame of normative reference as being "professional" may detract from a clear understanding of the situation in Weber's terms. This is so because much of the literature follows an argument initially advanced by Parsons (1947:58-60) which maintains that Weber overlooked the possession of professional knowledge as a source of legitimacy. However, the concept of professionalism may not, in fact, require independent recognition. In most discussions, (Greenwood, 1957; Vollmer and Mills, 1966; Etzioni, 1964; Kuhlman and Hoy, 1974; Hrynyk, 1966; Litwak, 1961; Hanson, 1979) the concept is made to turn on (1) the existence of a body of specialized knowledge which is highly technical and can only be mastered through extensive study and (2) a recognition that individuals who have mastered this knowledge are accorded autonomy in organizational and social settings to act on the basis of their knowledge rather than being expected to conform to a universally comprehensible set of rules and standards. A similarity between this position and that in which the ideally typical bureaucratic official is placed is immediately obvious, for the official is employed precisely because he has gained technical competence as a result of an extended period of study and he

is accorded autonomy to use this knowledge to contribute to the functioning of the bureaucracy. Weber (1947:339) for instance, specifically states that "Bureaucratic administration means fundamentally the exercise of control on the basis of knowledge. This is the feature which makes it specifically rational." Parsons' (1947:58-60) original disagreement with Weber is based on just this point, for he 8
claims that Weber has "thrown together two essentially different types (of authority) which, although often shading into each other, are analytically separate." Thus, Parsons (1947:59) argues that "control by means of knowledge" (Weber, 1947:337), that is, technical competence, constitutes a basis for the legitimation of imperative control which is analytically distinct from the authority legitimated by a legal order. Parsons rests his argument on the authority of the physician to issue commands to his patients and thus identifies professionalism as a legitimate form of authority. The weakness of this argument is evident once Weber's various grounds for according legitimacy to systems of order are considered. We could well argue that patients may accept the legitimacy of a physician's instruction on the basis of an "absolute belief" in the correctness of this social dynamic which may well be so institutionalized as to define a traditional basis for compliance.

Furthermore, the legitimacy of professional-client authority relationships has little if anything to do with the relationship between organizational members within bureaucracies. In this case, it would seem that the nature of the theoretical knowledge base that provides the technical competence of professionals is of the essence. Should this knowledge be based on intellectually calculable maxims, hypotheses and "laws" grounded in rational theory, then Weber would certainly maintain that this is analagous, or even directly synonymous, with the bureaucractic type of order, as the competency or malpractice of professionals who base their work on such a body of knowledge can be established by their peers or any organizational superiors who have been inducted into this body of knowledge. Obviously, any bureaucratic hierarchy organized on Weberian principles will ensure that only individuals who have greater technical competence in the appropriate body of knowledge will be promoted to a superior position. Hence, the so-called professional-bureaucratic conflict in which the authority of knowledge held by subordinates is in conflict with the purely legally based authority of position will not occur in an ideal-type Weberian bureaucracy. It follows that any system of organization that places individuals with greater technical competence in subordinate positions is irrational and non-bureaucratic in Weber's terms. This argument requires, of course, that different technical competencies, for example, physicians and financial administrators in a hospital, are organized in separate hierarchies that are both subordinate to an office occupied by an individual who is competent in *both* fields, or has the status of a supreme chief who is not appointed and employed on the same terms as his subordinates.

In summary, therefore, it would seem that Weberian bureaucracy is a form of organization that specifically requires the employment of professionals. Furthermore, the officials are professionals in more than one meaning of that term: they are employed because of their specialist knowledge; they are accorded autonomy within their sphere of competence; and their employment in the bureaucracy is a full time occupation which means they practice their skills as professionals and not amateurs. It would seem, therefore, that the concept of a professional employee and the ideally typical bureaucratic official are, to a degree, synonymous.

Teaching as a non-profession. These observations do not, however, explain the basis of pedagogical conflict within schools. Part of an explanation can be based on the existence of two distinct technologies in schools, both of which require different orientations which are potentially incompatible as discussed in the previous chapter. The long-linked process technology provides the basis for many of the rules in the externally imposed order, which is, as noted above, primarily a bureaucratic type of order in that is is rationally based and legally established. However, the class teaching technology used in public schools is predicated on the technical competence of the teachers which is, in turn, based partially on their craft knowledge and the normative standards embodied in a particular ideology of teaching. Thus the point of potential conflict occurs at the interface between the normative rules relating to two different types of technical problem: (1) the movement of students through the total curriculum; and (2) the actual teaching of a small segment of the curriculum. Both sources of normative standards would appear to be professional-bureaucratic in that they rest on bodies of technically specialized knowledge, but the externally imposed order is also bureaucratic in the legal sense. At this point it is important to note that a particular methodology or philosophy of classroom teaching could also be governed by bureaucratically legal rules if such are imposed by the external authorities or agreed upon in the internal system of order in an appropriate manner.

However, individually held philosophies or ideologies of teaching would seem more likely to be legitimated by teachers on traditional, wertrational or affectual grounds: - a teacher may justify the use of particular teaching approaches because this method is the one he has "always used" or the manner in which others have "always taught the subject", or because he firmly believes that the method is appropriate or it is an innovative approach which he finds particularly exciting and promising. None of these grounds for adopting a particular approach is inherently professional or bureaucratic. Purely professional grounds would presumably rest, as noted above, on reference to well established procedures contained in the body of professional knowledge, and ideally this would be empirically validated scientific knowledge, the legitimacy of which is recognized by the profession as a whole. The point is well made by Hanson (1979: 127) in reference to his case study of the Silverwood schools:

> In the Silverwood schools it is common to hear administrators telling teachers (and teachers telling teachers) "We must do this because it is best for the kids." Administrators can be referring to almost anything that reflects current district policy: (the externally imposed order) team teaching, individual instruction, cross-age teaching or the whiz bang reading method. No hard data are presented to support the administrator's contention, usually because clear and convincing evidence is rarely available to support one method over another. The conviction based more or less on face validity, says that "this is best for kids, and for you (the teachers) to do less is not fulfilling your professional responsibility."

The practice in the literature, as shown by Hanson, is to classify teaching ideologies and practices that cannot be supported by reference to an authoritative body of knowledge as "professional". But the reliance on "face validity" of pedagogical practices would appear to mean that they are legitimated in a *non-professional and a non-bureaucratic* manner. Thus the individual systems of order held by teachers in public schools would appear to be much more akin to what Weber would term irrational and possibly "enchanted" ideologies. They are validated not on the basis of the intellectually rational rules established in a bureaucratic order, nor the intellectually derived principles established in a scientific body of knowledge, but by tradition, absolute belief or emotional commitment.

Codes of professional conduct. The same observation does not apply to normative standards of "professional" behavior established by the representative associations to which the teachers belong. This source of professional rules is essentially bureaucratic as was established in the previous discussion of the externally imposed order of which they are a part. Thus, "professional" conflicts that arise in public schools as a consequence of teachers conforming to codes of professional conduct established by their representative associations and administrators attempting to enforce the normative standards established by the local or central authorities can be regarded as conflicts between two bureaucratic systems of order.

Other codes of behavior that may be held by individual teachers or shared between groups of teachers and influence their social behavior in the school would appear to fall under the heading of conventional standards of action and do not require explicit attention here.

Summary. The manner in which particular teaching methodologies are legitimated in public schools has formed the main topic of concern in the previous pages. The existence of such individually held ideologies is commonly referred to in the literature in terms of the existence of professional norms. This point of view is not adopted here as normative rules of this kind would seem to be adequately accommodated by Weber's several bases for according legitimacy to sets of normative standards, which also equates professional competency with technical competence of the kind required by bureaucratic officials. The root of the problem would appear to lie in the lack of a well validated scientific theory of teaching. If such existed, then it would be possible for the major technical principles and rules to be incorporated in the externally or internally established systems of order in an intellectually rational, and thus bureaucratic, fashion. Given the absence of such a situation, then classroom teachers have no recourse but to accept whatever pedagogic principles are established in the externally imposed or internally determined orders or to adopt their own approach. Freedom to adopt the latter approach is guaranteed in the bureaucratic nature of public schools in that autonomy is accorded to teachers in their spheres of classroom competence. However, the lack of any basis for legitimating individual approaches to teaching except tradition, personal belief or individual commitment, is in itself a non-bureaucratic feature. Thus although the professional basis for arguing that teaching in public schools is non-bureaucratic is rejected in this analysis, a similar conclusion is reached. However, incongruity between public schools and Weber's bureaucracy in this respect appears to be best demonstrated within his own frame of reference, rather than through the identification of professionally legitimated systems of order, especially as professionalism would appear to be an important feature of bureaucracy as described by Weber.

The Classroom Order

A final component element of the overall system of order in public schools will be the rules established by teachers to control the behavior of students in the classroom. To a variable extent, the behavior of students in classrooms will be influenced by elements of the externally imposed and internally determined order. In Ontario, for example, both the enabling legislation and regulations made under its authority specify a number of duties for pupils and we may expect that relevant school rules may range all the way from instructions for appropriate student behavior in case of fire to a requirement that all pupils will stand on the entry of a classroom visitor. Nonetheless, teachers will likely establish their own rules and normative standards within their individual classrooms, and indeed the occupational literature recommends that they do so (Kounin, 1972; Madsen, Becker and Thomas, 1972).

The extent to which classroom rules can be considered bureaucratic could be judged by the criteria already established in this chapter: if the validity of these rules can be demonstrated by intellectually rational means; if they are consistent with the provisions in the externally imposed and school wide systems of order; and if they are enforced by the application of sanctions legitimated in the legally established orders, the classroom system of order could well be described as bureaucratic. On the other hand, should the rules be contradictory, subject to haphazard change by the teacher, and rarely enforced, then they would seem non-bureaucratic.

The empirical variety between classrooms could be expected to be great, but the existence of essentially bureaucratic systems of classroom order may be typical. Teachers are commonly accorded the authority to establish and enforce classroom rules within the bureaucratic orders previously discussed and it would seem prudent that any rules established are intellectually defensible and rationally consistent. Nevertheless, the individually legitimated teaching ideologies held by individual teachers will be of importance in determining the type and nature of the rules that are established and this could lead to classroom rules that contravene provisions in the orders external to the classroom. This could well lead to conflicts between teachers and the teacher concerned and the principal, especially insofar as the principal, if called upon to support or supply disciplinary action against recalcitrant students may not be able to accept or defend the propriety of the rules that were broken. This, and other dynamics in the school, would appear to work so as to enforce consistency in the rules established or enforced in the different classrooms in the school, and such pressures towards standardization would appear to enhance the likelihood that classroom systems of order will be of a bureaucratic nature.

On the other hand, many of the rules, procedures and expectations for student behavior in the classroom would appear to have been in effect from time immemorial and derived largely from custom, and students would appear to be socialized into these behaviors before they enter the school. Thus the raising of hands before answering questions, lining up to enter and leave the room, working in "silence" and the routines of distributing student materials are all procedures that would be familiar to any of our great grandfathers who were lucky enough to attend school. To the extent that these behaviors persist in classrooms as a result of teacher expectations that are not based on a rational assessment of their utility, but an acceptance of established and inherited routines, then they may be much more traditional than they are bureaucratic. The extent to which classroom systems of order are predicated on tradition is, however, difficult to assess due to the limited number of solutions to many of the contingencies of classroom management.

Environmental Norms

The final set of normative standards identified in Figure 9:1 are the consistent codes of behavior of student groups and the behavioral norms extant in student households and the local social environment. These are all conventional rather than official systems of order and are not of immediate importance in this analysis. Their recognition here reflects the manner in which they may influence the internally determined order of the school, the individual pedagogic standards of the teachers and the systems of classroom rules. Some of these conventional norms may be conducive to the development of bureaucratic systems of order in the school, while others may encourage more traditional orders, and thus the degree to which this is reflected in a school could be of importance in determining the extent of its bureaucratic nature. To some degree the bureaucratic principle of impersonality applies here and the extent to which a school does not adapt its system of order to accommodate local behavioral norms could be taken as an indication of bureaucratization. Local environments conducive to bureaucratic norms, however, could produce forces that would augment the bureaucratic trends in the externally imposed orders. An upper middle class neighbourhood, for example, could well embody a high regard for the law, legal principles and intellectual rationality that could encourage teachers and principals to ensure that the school and classroom rules they establish are defensible on bureaucratic grounds. Some rural or lower socio-economic contexts may have an opposite effect by encouraging traditionally sanctioned rules and methods of procedure.

Summary and Conclusions

It is evident from the foregoing discussion that it is no simple matter to decide whether public schools or particular empirical instances thereof, embody bureaucratic systems of order. The majority of ideally typical pressures in the task environments would appear to be conducive to the development of bureaucratic rules and norms, but several decidedly non-bureaucratic bases for the development and legitimation of normative standards of social action in schools have been identified. Chief among these would appear to be the individual ideologies of the teachers, the lack of extensive authority provided to the principal, and elements of traditional law in the externally imposed order. The decisive point in analysis would appear to be the manner in which the internally determined order in public schools is established..

It would seem that if a school philosophy and rules are established according to the legal rational principles that undergird the bureaucratic model, and the procedure by which this is accomplished is perceived as legitimate by the teachers and the principal, then a set of conditions would be established to offset other non-bureaucratic tendencies. A bureaucratically established internal order, could, for example, provide a powerful basis for the coordination and standardization of teaching methodology and classroom systems of order which would respect and protect the teacher autonomy that is grounded in both tradition and bureaucratic principles as well as providing a set of normative principles to guide the resolution of technical and ideological disputes. However, the degree to which public schools do evidence an internal system of order based on intellectually rational democratic procedures is impossible to establish at the present time, as is the extent to which this would be accepted as legitimate by school personnel. Nonetheless, some evidence presented suggests that this mode of approach may not be common and that it is possible for normative standards within public schools to be determined in an *ad hoc*, non-formal manner that would exacerbate other pressures that encourage debureaucratization.

Within such a context, the tendency to rely upon the provisions of the externally imposed order would be encouraged. Although the major provisions in this order must be considered as bureaucratic, an extensive dependency on these rules could well militate against congruency to Weber's model in the school itself. This is so because of the qualitative difference between the two technologies embodied in public schooling systems and the lack of an adequately rational base for the specification of rules to guide classroom teaching in any externally imposed order. These externally imposed rules will be primarily concerned with the long-linked student flow technology and may not be applicable to classroom teaching as such, and if specific rules governing classroom procedures were promulgated by the external authorities, their validity may not be easily recognized by teachers, given the lack of a body of truly professional and scientifically validated knowledge. This situation is further complicated by the lack of adequate bureaucratic authority accorded to principals. Thus, should principals attempt to apply any of the externally imposed rules, they may not have the necessary authority to enforce them, even if they were directly relevant to classroom situations. To such problems of authority we now turn.

THE EXERCISE OF IMPERATIVE CONTROL IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

In Weber's, and most other, schemes of organizational analysis, compliance to the commands of superordinates is a necessary requirement if an effective and efficient coordination of effort is to be achieved in organizations. Parsons (1947:56-7), in his prefatory analysis of Weber's treatment of authority, correctly observes that "A certain 'utopianism' which tends to minimize the significance of authority, coercive power and physical force in human affairs, has been a conspicuous feature of a large part of modern social ... thought", but that Weber does not subscribe to this approach. As has been noted above, each of the famous three ideal-types of authority in Weber's scheme ultimately rests upon legal grounds in that their associated system of order legitimates the application of coercive sanctions to punish disobediance and encourage compliance. More contemporary typologies take a much more 'utopian' view and commonly identify coercion as a single and separate basis for the exercise of command (French and Raven, 1959; Etzioni, 1961; Peabody, 1964). The analytical problem associated with such schema is that it becomes difficult to recognize the use of physical or psychic force on any logical grounds other than purely coercive grounds. Thus Etzioni's (1961) compliance scheme recognizes normative, remunerative and coercive bases for effecting compliance, and tends to ignore the possibility that any enforcement of normative standards or manipulation of monetary rewards may well rest on the application of some kind of psychic or physical force against the individuals concerned.

The contemporary scene is further complicated by the recognition of "legitimate" power and authority as separate analytical categories as, for example, in the typologies of French and Raven (1959) and Peabody (1964). For Weber all authority must be legitimated on some grounds by definition, and any non-legitimated attempts to exercise control form part of the much broader, but in Weber's scheme less important, category of power. This is so because any attempt to influence others that is not validated by an appeal or an apparent relationship to a system of order which legitimates the right to apply force, will, by definition, be of importance only in close personalized relationships. Thus, in Betriebsverbände, and other forms of organization, it is authority rather than the more diffuse concept of power that is of importance in Weberian analysis for it will be impossible for coordinative control to be exercised on the scale required solely on the basis of the non-legitimated use of power.

Finally, Weber deliberately restricts his definitions of imperative control to the giving of specific commands and the probability that these will be obeyed. He is not concerned with the offering of suggestions or requests unless these are phrased within a context that gives them the flavour of instructions that must be obeyed. This feature is also seldom made explicit in contemporary analyses of authority in organizations, but for Weber it provides a further means of distinguishing the application of power from the exercise of authority.

With these conditions in mind, we can recall that Weber's three ideal-types of organization - bureaucratic, traditional and charismatic - rest on whichever of the three ideal-types of authority forms the basis for control. Furthermore, he (Weber, 1947:332-3) makes it clear that each type of authority, and thus each type of organization, will seldom exist in a 'pure' state: elements of tradition, rationality and charisma may be expected in many instances. The point to be considered in this section is the degree to which these types of authority are characteristic of public schools. However, due to the approach adopted in the study, the analysis presented does not attempt to "prove" that certain types of authority are characteristic, but attempts to indicate the possibility that certain patterns could well exist.

Three structurally based areas for the exercise of authority in public schools can be recognized: the principal controlling teachers;

the teachers and principal controlling the students; and the teachers controlling the students in their classes. These are used to structure the following discussion.

Principals and Teachers

The principal's exercise of authority over the teachers is probably the least important area of imperative control in public schools, but that in which the most serious problems may arise. This seemingly contradictory statement is based on the previously recognized spheres of autonomous competency that exist in public schools. The teachers are accorded autonomy to discharge their teaching tasks through the use of their specialized technical competence while the principal is required to organize, supervise and regulate the long-linked process technology, monitor classroom teaching and administer other elements of the established systems of order. His authority to organize and oversee the overall production process will be clearly specified in the bureaucratic elements of the externally imposed order, as will many of the necessary technical rules that will relate to the formation of classes, scheduling of time for the subjects to be taught, and the assignment of teachers. Thus the organization, modification and overall supervision of the instructional process would appear as a technical task in the bureaucratic sense and will likely be accomplished through the exercise of bureaucratic authority. The overall organization of the instructional process by the principal may not seem of particular importance at first glance, but it is vital to the process technology of the state schooling structure and the regional system and it also imposes the major structure within which the teachers will discharge their instructional responsibilities. It is therefore of great importance to the external authorities and school members, and the principal may well face a number of management problems stemming from the concerns of teachers, pupils, parents and his organizational superiors in his design and implementation of the overall plan. However, any attempt at gross deviation from the technical norms established in the externally imposed regulations will likely be quickly countered by his superordinates *and* his subordinates, who will all be aware of the major provisions, and although they may be motivated by different objectives, will wish to ensure compliance with those of importance to themselves. Superintendents will require that regulations concerning time allocations, class loadings and any new programs that are required are observed; teachers will expect class size limits determined in their negotiated contracts to be observed and that they will be assigned to classes appropriate to their expertise, and so forth. These regulations all represent technical rules in the bureaucratic order and the principal and others will, in their attempts to obey these rules, be conforming to the bureaucratic order. Necessary instructions given by the principal to ensure compliance to the instructional plan will constitute the exercise of legal-rational authority. The need for such instructions will not cease when the school begins operations for the year, as any changes and contingencies will require further action and conformity to the plan, which will of course be manifest in the school timetable, will require the exercise of further bureaucratic authority.

Despite obvious pressures to conform to the relevant bureaucratic norms, some elements of traditional authority may well be present in this sphere of action. The principal could well retain a personal prerogative to assign some teaching responsibilities on the basis of traditionally sanctioned assignments that cannot be easily justified on rational grounds.

This type of behavior, which will be legitimated and generalized primarily on traditional grounds, could be particularly prevalent in the extra-curricular organization of the school, especially as this will likely be less regulated by externally imposed rules and have arisen in response to community expectations or individual teacher ideologies. However, while this aspect of the school may have a major impact on the development of informal norms and provide a source of sanctions to be applied against teachers and students, it is primarily incidental to the main purpose of public schools and need not detain us here beyond a recognition that unless the planning of extra-curricular programs is accommodated within a bureaucratically based system of order of some kind, it will probably be an area in which the exercise of traditional and possibily charismatic authority features highly.

Principal authority and teaching practices. Problems of authoritative coordination concerning teachers and principals will most likely occur at the border lines between their respective spheres of teaching and management competence. One of Hanson's (1979:117) principal respondents described the situation in this way:

> Each teacher has the right to develop the content and thus the class as he or she feels most comfortable and most successful. I think they are left pretty much on their own as long as there are favorable results.

This statement is highly congruent to Weber's (1947:330) previously quoted observation regarding the obligation of officials in bureaucracies to act within the limits established by the generalized principles in the governing order. Problems of authority arise when the necessary definitions of "favorable results" are not provided in a system of order or when it is not possible for the administrator to make an appropriate logical and rational deduction from the "rules" in the order that will provide a normative standard to accurately judge the extent to which a teacher's actions are acceptable. The problem is compounded in schools by the time span involved in the teaching process and by the existence of the differing teaching ideologies noticed in the previous section. Because a teacher is assigned to a class for an extended period of time, because teaching perfomances are isolated and compartmentalized by the cellular structure of schools, and because the efficacy of different pedagogical methodologies is not easily validated by rational means, it is difficult for a principal or a teacher to establish that the teaching methodology being employed is valid in the circumstances, and it is even more difficult to judge the technical efficiency of the method in use. Hence, in the absence of an internally agreed upon order which is accepted as legitimate by both parties, the principal may possibly have *no* authority (in Weber's usage of the term) of *any* kind over the teaching process in individual classrooms.

An exception to this situation will occur when the teacher is obviously contravening elements of the externally imposed bureaucratic order. In this case, a principal would have the rational-legal authority to instruct the teacher to conform to these provisions. But, as noted many times elsewhere, the external order will be mostly concerned with the process technology of school systems, rather than the craft technology of classroom teaching and a principal's authority will be limited in this respect. Other exceptions relate to the internal order of the school. If an internal order has been rationally determined by democratic processes, then the principal can be considered as having access to rational-legal authority legitimated by this order. However, the ultimate sanctions available to him in such a situation may be marginal: the teacher may be admonished or censured by the principal and other staff members, or the case referred to higher authority. Little else is possible within the ambit of the principal's legal sphere of authority. But even this is a more substantial power base than would be available without an internally accepted philosophy to serve as a normative reference.

Non-bureaucratic options. The internal system of order may be highly informal, and therefore virtually useless in this case, or may be legitimated on other than rational and legalistic grounds. In this case we are concerned not with individually held ideologies but an acceptance amongst staff that the principal has a certain traditionally based or charismatically derived authority to judge their teaching according to well established customary standards acknowledged within the school or his personal teaching ideology.

These types of situations may be quite common in public schools, especially as the disciplinary literature lays stress on the importance of leadership in the role of the principal. Weber makes a clear distinction between leadership and administration, the former being presented as the essence of charismatic authority, and the latter as the prime function of bureaucratic officials. Leaders are expected to preach, create or demand new obligations while administrators are required to apply, and adjudicate problems with reference to the rules contained in the rational system of order. Hence principals who attempt to establish their personal teaching ideologies, or other methodologies "newly revealed" by respected experts, as the main means for judging appropriate teaching practices, would appear to fall well within Weber's frame of charismatic authority. This implies that the exercise of authority over teachers on these grounds will be less than stable and rest on aspects of personality and the ability to convincingly extol the virtues of a series of new teaching ideologies. This does not seem a suitable basis for the maintenance of authority over an extended period of time.

Whereas charismatic authority rests on the unique qualities of individuals, traditional authority is standardized within a traditional system of order. Principals exercising control over teaching practices in this manner will be required to base their judgements on standards of teaching that are so well established among the teaching body as to have become customary guides to action. According to Weber (1947:341-2) principals in this situation will be accorded some latitude to apply personal standards and render personal judgements in novel cases, but will be rigidly guided by the customary norms, which they will disregard at the cost of the acceptance of this authority by the teachers.

Individual conflicts. In the absence of a rationally or traditionally determined system of order, the validity of which is accepted by the principal and teachers, then individual disputes between teachers and principals (or teachers and teachers) over the appropriateness of certain classroom practices may be exceedingly difficult to resolve satisfactorily. One party to the dispute (and this may not be the principal) may have personal charismatic power, but unless this is legitimated by the presence of a following in the school, this will provide no effective authority. The only recourse available to the principal will be to take refuge in his legally based hierarchical superiority. Unless there are elements in a bureaucratic system of order that he can realistically invoke to justify his position, however, he will be acting as an autocrat and not a bureaucrat, and thus will be attempting to exercise improperly legitimated power, for which he could be censured should the teacher appeal to superior authority. On the other hand, either the principal or the teacher may rest their respective cases on "professional" norms. According to the analysis presented previously, such action will rest on the individual teaching ideologies of those concerned which will be non-professional in the sense that they will probably be unsupported by scientific knowledge and rest ultimately on a belief in the absolute value of the ideologies concerned. This will likely result in an unsolvable deadlock.

Situations of this kind have been documented by Corwin (1965b;1966) and in the work of Hanson (1976; 1979) cited previously. Corwin (1965b: 12) investigated 326 critical incidents, that is personal disputes between staff members, in seven secondary schools in Michigan. He reports that:

> ... 58 of these ... fell into the categories of classroom control, curriculum management and authority in the school; these incidents embraced such issues as the use of proper teaching techniques and procedures, changing the curriculum and selection of textbooks. About half of these involved administrators.

Corwin's (1965b:14) major finding was that the teachers who were judged more "professional" evidenced a higher number of conflicts with administrators than did others. However, when placed within Weber's frame of reference the validity of Corwin's findings may be questioned. Central to his research was the administration of a questionnaire designed to measure the professional or bureaucratic orientation of the 284 public school teachers who constituted the research sample. It is important to note that the questionnaire was designed to differentiate between the two orientations such that scores on the 'professional' scale "were not significantly correlated" with scores on the 'bureaucratic' scale (Corwin, 1965b:10). Items in the 'bureaucratic' orientation scale included: (1) "Teachers should be obedient, respectful and loyal to the principal;" (2) "Pay should be in relation to experience;" and (3) "Teachers of the same subject throughout the system should follow the same kind of lesson plan." These items, and others included in the 'bureaucratic' sub-scale do not appear to bear a close resemblance to the orientations of teacher-officials that would be expected in the Weberian model of bureaucracy reconstructed in this study. Specifically, item (1) above embodies subservient and loyal attachment to the principal, and not the impersonal system of order; item (2) assumes a correlation of remuneration with experience and not the technical training or expertise described by Weber; and item (3) reflects inflexible centralization that denies autonomy within the teacher's sphere of competence. Interestingly, these sample items would appear to capture features much more characteristic of Weber's traditional or charismatic types of organizations. Loyalty to individuals, for instance, is very much a characteristic of traditional systems of authority.

Similar criticism could be levelled at the items included in the professional orientation sub-scale. Examples include: (1) "Unless she is satisfied that it is best for the student, the teacher should not do what she is told to do;" (2) "Teachers should subscribe to and diligently read the standard professional journals;" and (3) "Teachers should be evaluated primarily on the basis of their knowledge of the subject and their ability to communicate it." The arguments advanced earlier in this chapter suggest that professionalism could be characterized by familiarity with a body of intellectually validated and verifiable knowledge, autonomy to apply this knowledge according to the professional's judgement of the situation, and complete rather than 'amateur' dedication to the profession. Furthermore, it was argued that Weberian bureaucratic 'officials' would appear to be highly similar to, if not synonymous with, professional employees. The professional orientation items in Corwin's scales would appear to reinforce this view. Item (1) above clearly reflects the autonomy that Weberian officials are expected to enjoy in their sphere of competence; item (2) suggests that there is a body of knowledge with which the teacher should remain familiar; and item (3) embodies the reliance on a mastery of knowledge and expertise that Weber sees as being highly characteristic of bureaucracies. It would seem to follow that Corwin's 'professional' scale would seem more congruent to orientations to be expected in a Weberian bureaucracy. However, it was also noted above that teaching may not be a professional type of activity due to lack of a scientifically produced and validated body of knowledge dealing with pedagogical matters. Personal ideologies based on absolute values or tradition may be much more prevalent than professional/bureaucrat[illegible] behaviors that can be evaluated by reference to rules embodied in intellectually rational systems of scientific and legal systems of order.

Returning to Corwin's empirical finding that the higher the level of 'professionalism' of the teachers, the higher the level of conflict between teachers and administrators, then this could indicate that teachers aspiring to professional *and bureaucratic* norms were more frequently in conflict with administrators who may well have been attempting to exercise authority of Weber's traditional kind. An alternate explanation could be that those teachers more frequently in conflict with administrators were attempting to adhere to the rules and policies of their professional association, which have already been classified as being rationally-legal and hence bureaucratic.

One question that remains is the degree to which the administrators in this study were acting in an ideally typical bureaucratic manner. Corwin did not administer his instrument to the administrators, but chose to use schools as the unit of analysis by computing and ranking the rate of conflict in each school. The rank order correlation between the conflictual level in the schools and the mean professional orientation in each school was an impressive .91. On the basis of the interpretation of Corwin's measurement scales advanced here, this could be interpreted as indicating that the more traditionally oriented the systems of order in the sample schools, then the greater the likelihood of conflict between teachers oriented to intellectually rational systems of order and administrators attempting to exercise traditional authority.

The Kuhlman and Hoy study. Kuhlman and Hoy (1974) used a modified version of Corwin's instrument to compare the orientations of beginning teachers to their orientations after one year of full time employment in public schools. They (Kuhlman and Hoy, 1974:22-23) found that there was no change in the mean 'bureaucratic' or 'professional' scores of the elementary teachers over the year, but that the mean 'bureaucratic' score for secondary level teachers increased significantly, while their mean 'professional' score decreased significantly. Furthermore, the mean 'bureaucratic' scores for the elementary sample were consistently higher than those obtained from the secondary teachers.

These findings are of interest in the context of this study due to the light they may cast on the systems of order and the related exercise of authority in the schools studied. If the two scales are relabelled to increase their congruency to Weber's frame of reference, then the 'bureaucratic' scale would be better viewed as a measure of the presence of traditional systems of order and authority, and the 'professional' scale more akin to what could be expected in an intellectually rational system of order, such as could be expected in an ideal-type bureaucratic setting. From this perspective the Kuhlman and Hoy findings could be interpreted as indicating that newly graduated teachers are pre-socialized to the intellectual and scientifically based models and theories to which they are exposed during their training, as was shown by the consistently higher scores on the professional scale at the beginning of their first year of employment. However, this commitment weakened during their first year of experience as they became socialized to the prevailing organizational norms in the schools, this weakening being most evident in the secondary schools. The interpretation advanced here is that these norms would appear more akin to traditional rather than bureaucratic systems of order, which would presumably help to reinforce the intellectually rational norms acquired during training.

Peabody's study. Some more direct insight into the nature of authority in public schools is provided by Peabody's (1964) study which is extensively cited in the literature. Peabody conducted an interview survey of a twenty teacher public school, a thirty three member police department and a welfare agency. The findings summarized in Table 9:2 were imputed by Peabody from answers to the question "What does authority mean to you?" and classified according to analytical categories developed for his study (Peabody, 1964:125). Only the findings from the public school and the police department are included in the table on the grounds that the police department can be taken as being potentially more congruent with Weber's model of bureaucracy and thus provides a useful point of reference.

Because Peabody did not apply Weber's typology, but developed his own from the literature, the classifications given in Table 9:2 are not directly relevant; the category of "generalized legitimacy" is,

Table 9:2

INDIVIDUAL PERCEPTIONS OF THE SOURCES OF LEGITIMATION FOR THE USE OF AUTHORITY IN AN ELEMENTARY PUBLIC SCHOOL AND A POLICE DEPARTMENT AS FOUND BY PEABODY

	SOURCES OF AUTHORITY IDENTIFIED BY RESPONDENTS	Police department N=33 officers %	Elementary school N=20 teachers %
?	"generalized legitimacy"	12	10
B1	Law, state legislation, city ordinances, etc.	15	15
B2	Administrative codes, rules and regulations.	0	0
B3	Governing board (local authority) and its policies.	0	10
B4	Office of the top external executive	0	15
P1	Office of the top internal executive	27	30
P1	Immediate supervisor	9	(Coded as top internal executive)
B5	Inherent in position (sphere of competence)	30	15
P2	Professional, technical competence or experience	15	45
NB2	Personal characteristics	42	15
	No source specified and other	24	15
	TOTAL	174	170

Source: Adapted from Table 10, in Peabody (1964:126) for example, meaningless in the present context. Nonetheless, several interesting findings emerge as a result of a classification of Peabody's categories to better fit this discussion. The categories coded B1-B5 are all considered to embody aspects of bureaucratic authority and these account for almost half of the sources of authority identified by the teachers. The categories coded as P1 and P2 denote problematical areas in Peabody's study for they could be taken as representing bureaucratic or other bases of authority. The principals could, for example, be exercising traditionally based authority and the category of "competence" could well be taken as indicating bureaucratic authority associated with technical competence. The authority of person category is, however, definitely a non-bureaucratic type of authority and interestingly this appears as being of considerably less importance in the public school than it does in the assumedly more bureaucratic police department. This would appear to suggest that much more reliance is placed on legitimating authority through normative standards contained in systems of order in public schools than upon the traditional or charismatic types of authority that involve compliance to personal qualities.

Summary. There is obviously no clear cut manner in which the authority exercised in public schools can be unambiguously classified as bureaucratically based or otherwise. It would appear possible for a relatively high degree of congruency to the bureacratic ideal to obtain in certain areas, if suitable systems of order are available. This would seem particularly important when principals attempt to issue orders impinging upon the sphere of teaching competence for if there are no mutually acceptable normative standards by which a teacher's actions can be judged, the principal will be relatively powerless. Futhermore, cognizance must be taken of the fact that principals have little formally sanctioned power of reward or punishment over their teachers. It could be argued that such is not necessary if a highly rational system of order is accepted as binding by all staff members. But Weber could counter this by observing that such an order can only be ultimately maintained through the existence (but not necessarily the use) of legal sanctions. In public schooling structures, these would appear to be reserved almost exclusively to the local and central authorities. To the extent that this undermines a principal's authority, this is dysfunctional in terms of the bureaucratic model, especially as the externally imposed system of order requires principals to discharge many essentially bureaucratic responsibilities.

The Staff and the Pupils

Reference was made in the development of the model of public schools to the technical problems posed by the need to control the behavior of students at large in the school. Movement between classrooms, formation of assemblies, and the regulation of recreation and refreshment periods provide the main areas where some control of this kind will be required. The rules themselves will form part of the internally determined system of order in the school and the manner in which these rules have been determined will have a large bearing on the legitimacy accorded them by both the teachers who are required to enforce them, and the students who are required to obey. Furthermore, these rules and their enforcement, will reflect the ideologies of the staff members and if present, the internally determined philosophy of the school.

Potential congruence to the bureaucratic model. To a large degree the normative standards used to regulate and control pupil behavior in the school at large and the application of these could conform much more closely to the bureaucratic ideal than other elements of the system of order: the staff does have a clear legal mandate to maintain order in the school, the teachers are accorded legalized powers to apply physical sanctions, the principal has the legal authority to suspend pupils and the socialization function of schools provides a basis for rational (and/or democratic) determination and pronouncement of the required rules. Hence the degree to which rules regulating student movement and behavior in the school are determined and capable of defence on purely rational grounds and are enforced by the legally provided sanctions could be taken as indications of the degree of bureaucratization evident in this aspect of social action in public schools. However, there is also considerable opportunity for the technology of student control and discipline in public schools to rest upon the exercise of traditional forms of authority.

The importance of common law principles. A major basis for traditional authority over public school pupils is the common law principle of *in loco parentis*, which states that teachers and principals are charged with some of the rights, duties and responsibilities of parents (Enns, 1963:202). Although this principle has been given bureaucratic substance by being incorporated into statutory elements of the externally imposed system of order, it retains much of its legitimacy by virtue of being a well established traditionally derived principle. The impact of this is illustrated in an extract from a judgement given by the Supreme Court of Wisconsin and quoted in McCurdy (1968:138, emphasis added by the present writer):

> While the principal or teacher in charge of a public school is subordinate to the school board ... and must enforce rules and regulations adopted by the board for the government of the school, and execute all lawful orders in that behalf, he does not derive all his power and authority in the school and over his pupils from the affirmative action of the board. He stands for the time being *in loco parentis* to his pupils, and because of that relation he must necessarily exercise authority over them in many things concerning which the board may have remained silent. In the school as well as in the family, there exists on the part of the pupils and obligation of obedience to lawful commands, subordination, civil deportment, respect for the rights of other pupils and fidelity to duty. These obligations are inherent in any proper school system, and constitute, so to speak, *the common law of the school*. Every pupil is presumed to know the law and is subject to it, whether it has or has not been re-enacted by the district board in the form of written rules and regulations. Indeed, it would seem impossible to frame rules which would cover all cases of insubordination and all acts of vicious tendency which the teacher is liable to encounter daily and hourly.

Thus, although the externally imposed and the internal order of the school may contain rules regulating student behavior, it is recognized that it will also be necessary for the teachers and principal to be guided by a set of what are essentially traditionally derived normative standards. Weber's (1947:341-3) comments are most pertinent. He notes that in the exercise of traditional authority, (1) obedience is owed to the person exercising authority (the parent or teacher in the place of the parent); (2) those subject to the authority are not "members" of an association but occupy traditional roles such as "comrades", "subjects" (or children); (3) commands are legitimated by tradition (children should behave in such and such a fashion); and

(4) a "sphere of traditional prerogative" within which the person in authority has a right to issue non-traditional commands to an unspecified extent, (5) these actions being guided by "principles of substantive ethical common sense, of justice or of utilitarian expediency." These last two points are clearly evident in both the scope of the *in loco parentis* principle, and the common law standard of *reasonableness* that is commonly applied by the courts in judging the propriety of action taken under this principle. The situation may be illustrated by the abstract example of a teacher who refers a pupil to the vice-principal for some misdemeanor which does not represent a breach of a specific regulation, but is nonetheless known by the teacher to be improper behavior. The vice-principal will be required to dispose of the case according to Weber's principles of "ethical common sense" and may well impose a punishment on the same grounds. The student's behavior is not "illegal" according to the formal systems of order, and it is not covered explicitly by traditional rules, that is to say, there are no relevant precedents known to the members of the administrative staff concerned. Nevertheless, the Wisconsin judgement and our folk knowledge requires that justice must be done. Elsewhere, Weber (1978b: 352) names the type of justice that will be done under these conditions as Kadi justice. This he (1978b:352) defines as being based on "informal decisions based on concrete ethical or otherwise practical value-judgements" while empirical justice is that based on "decisions which are formal, but are not based on any subsumption under rational concepts; instead they refer to 'analogies' and copy or interpret concrete 'precedents'." Both of these forms of justice are classified

by Weber as 'non-bureaucratic', for, as described above, they require the exercise of traditional authority.

The rationalization of discretionary justice. Manley-Casimir (1971; 1974) has commented on the extensive use of Kadi justice in public schools, and advanced a number of arguments in favour of the introduction of more formal legal principles in the process of disciplining pupils. He suggests the elements of due process, such as open hearings, and the publication of judgements reached and punishments imposed by school officials, the general recognition of elements of 'natural justice' and the promulgation of clearly specified rules should become common features of schools, describing this more formalized process as "discretionary justice." It would appear that his main argument would lead to increased bureaucratization of this element of public schooling. However, what he is proposing is a move from what Weber calls Kadi-justice to empirical justice. So long as the ethical principles that underlie the process of student discipline in schools remain legitimated by custom and generally held and sanctioned values, then they will defy accurate codification and not be eligible as a basis for bureaucratic administration.

Summary. The major import of this argument presented above is that it will be unlikely for control of students in public schools to rest fully on the exercise of legal-rational authority, and thus this will pose an important point of incongruity with the bureaucratic model. To the extent that student behavior is regulated on the basis of statutory and regulatory provisions in the externally imposed order, and punishments are administered under the provisions of this order, then congruency can be said to obtain. However, the common law principle of *in loco parentis* ensures that a substantial area of control and discipline in public schools will retain a traditional basis and be executed through the medium of traditional authority.

Classroom Authority

Much of what has been said above applies to the teacher's authority over students in the classroom. Furthermore, traditional authority may be of even greater importance in a classroom than in the school as a whole. In the previous section the customary nature of classroom control methods was remarked upon as was the social dynamic that provides anticipatory socialization to the role of pupils in classrooms. To this may be added the traditional nature of punishments and the traditional quality of appeals to higher authority that will likely result in the application of Kadi justice rather than the exercise of bureaucratic authority as such.

The existence of what is probably an extensive use of traditional authority in classrooms is significant in our analysis for at least four reasons. (1) The ability of a teacher to maintain discipline in his classroom is an important responsibility within his sphere of competence, and as remarked upon in the development of the model of public schools, is often taken by pupils, other teachers and superordinate officials as an indication of teaching competence. Thus the particular methods used to maintain control in the classroom form an important element within the teacher's sphere of autonomous competence and if, as seems possible, these methods are based on the exercise of traditional authority, they will be hard, if not impossible, to justify by rational means. This will exacerbate the authority relationship with the principal if this official perceives that "improper" means of classroom control are being used or discipline is not being maintained. (2) Because the exercise of traditional authority is not subject to intellectually rational rules, then the mastery of the required techniques will depend upon successful experience, thus enhancing the degree of "craftsmanship" required to successfully perform as a teacher. This will, in turn, encourage the development of a "disciplinary lore" within schools and the wider teaching community, the existence of which will further serve as a debureaucratizing force. (3) It would seem that the greatest use of imperative control in schools will be found in classrooms. More instructions, commands and orders will likely be given to students in the course of a day's classroom activity than will be received by their teacher over a considerably longer period of time, and this will be so in all the classrooms in the school. In terms of simple quantity, therefore, the form of authority used to gain compliance to the many instructional, behavioral and management instructions given in the day to day operation of classrooms could be taken as being characteristic of the organizational nature of public schools themselves. (4) Finally, the exercise of traditional authority requires the investment of personal attributes and the cultivation of individual loyalties. Only when these are well established in traditional systems of order and accepted lore will the personal aspects associated with the exercise of traditional authority be tempered and constrained by widely known limits, and hence checks and balances exist on its use. As school classes are essentially temporary systems formed for a limited period of time, the opportunity for such customary limits on the personal use of authority to develop will not be great, suggesting that teachers may have opportunity for relatively untrammelled personal influence over their pupils. It follows that classroom authority may also embody elements of charisma.

Charismatic authority and the teacher. The essence of charismatic authority is given by Weber (1947:358-360) as the possession of extraordinary personal qualities that enable an individual to exercise leadership and secure the compliance of 'followers' by virtue of a perceived duty on their part to obey his commands. The literature and Weber himself, tends to reserve the identification of this type of authority to particularly obvious cases such as Gandi or Joseph Smith. However, it does not seem to be stretching the concept to recognize certain institutionalized roles as requiring an element of charisma for their successful fulfillment. Some modern ideologies of education, resting as they do, on requirements to motivate learners and develop affective relationships with them, would seem to encourage the development of this type of authority, especially if school classes are recognized as being initially formed as aggregated, unstructured bodies of students whom the assigned teacher is required to educate and control through a process that requires that he "preaches, creates or demands new obligations" (Weber, 1947:361). Furthermore, public school teachers especially in the lower grades, are potentially so much more knowledgeable, mature, confident and powerful than their charges, that they will, by the nature of things, be regarded with some kind of awe by their pupils and although this may sour with the onset of adolescence, successful teachers, it would seem, are frequently accorded a degree of exemplary status by their pupils.

Although the importance of charismatic authority in classrooms would seem to have some intuitive support, it is difficult to substantiate. Lortie's (1975:120-133) study did, however, lead him to observe that there was evidence that teachers tend to attribute elements of charisma to those others that they perceive as being outstanding teachers.

In the context of this analysis, the possibility that the structural and technological contingencies of public school teaching could foster the development and exercise of charismatic authority in classrooms represents further incongruity to the bureaucratic model, for loyalty and obedience to individuals is not only antithetical to the principles of legal-rational authority, but it also represents a threat to the entire authority structure. The same is also true in traditionally based systems of authority, for the fundamental precepts of these structures are also challenged by the essentially revolutionary character of charismatic individuals. Thus the emergence of particularly charismatic teachers would presumably threaten whatever forms of systems of order were established in a school.

Summary

On balance, it would appear that much of the authority exercised in public schools does not have a strong legal-rational base. The principal will exercise bureaucratic powers in his organization and supervision of the overall instructional process, but will likely find that this is not accepted as a valid base for interventions in classroom activities. Similarly, although there would appear to be strong legal bases for the exercise of authority over the students within the school as a whole, elements of common law and thus traditional authority are clearly evident. This feature will also be of relevance in the exercise of authority in classrooms and may well be augmented by charismatic properties of some teachers, especially as the organizational and institutional context would appear to encourage the development of charismatic qualities in teachers and principals.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

Weber accords a particularly significant role to his three types of authority and their attendant systems of order in his exposition of the characteristic form taken by different types of organization. The rules governing the action of members in a bureaucracy are described as being ideally rational in that they will comprise or be akin to a body of intellectually analyzable law. These rules will apply to both the behavior of members and the determination of appropriate organizational action in certain areas. Taken together, these rules will form one or more consistent systems of order which will provide the basis for the administration of the organization. This will be achieved through the exercise of authority that is legitimated in the provisions of the order itself which will also accord the incumbents in positions of authority the right to impose punative sanctions to punish subordinate disobedience. Given this institutional framework officials owe their allegiance and obedience to the order itself and not to the persons who interpret, apply and regulate the provisions of this order. An appropriate analogy for a bureaucratic order is the ideally typical conception of a scientific theory. This is an intellectual artifact, as is the bureaucratic order, and researchers applying the theory base their actions on logical deductions from its postulates as bureaucratic officials base their administrative actions and decisions on deductions from the generalized abstract principles that constitute the rules of the bureaucratic order.

This ideally conceived system of regulation and authority has been presented as having only a limited presence in the ideal-type public school. Much of the externally imposed order appears highly congruent to the bureaucratic ideal. Behavioral specifications in the enabling legislation and the policies of local boards appear as bureaucratic rules as do the technical norms established in some curriculum documents and in operational plans such as budgets, staffing policies and negotiated terms of employment. However, the point of interest is that all of these elements are imposed on public schools by authoritative bodies in the first level task environment. Within the school itself, the existence of normative standards of this kind is difficult to ascertain in any ideally typical fashion. A potential certainly exists for an internal order of the rational-legal kind to be negotiated among the teachers and the principal, but the extent to which this will be accepted as binding on the teachers in their autonomous sphere of classroom competence is problematical, especially as many of their dealings with students will be predicated on common law precepts and the technical process of teaching is itself not yet subject to planning and execution on the basis of intellectually rational principles. Thus, individually held teaching ideologies which are legitimated on other than intellectually rational grounds will probably hold sway in the practice of the complex craft of teaching and the strong elements of tradition that pervade the classroom will further militate against the institution or the acceptance of bureaucratic values in the school.

This situation places both the teacher and the principal within a context in which there will be strong forces promoting the personal rather than the impersonal use of authority. The technical norms imposed by the external hierarchy will likely be accepted as valid, but they provide only the parameters for social action in the school, for they speak to the long-linked process technology of schooling systems and structures, and not the intensive, personalized and hard to substantiate craft practiced in classrooms. The principal may well cease to be an administrator and seek to lead through the introduction of changing sets of normative standards produced by each and every new change in the fashions of teaching or through ultimately traditional prerogatives and/or charismatic qualities. Teachers may evidence similar behavior and would appear to further protect and legitimate their already bureaucratically guaranteed classroom autonomy by appealing to poorly defined professional norms or perhaps relying on one of the few bureaucratically sanctioned standards for behavior that are available: the rules imposed and enforced by their professional association.

Throughout this confused melange of norms and values runs a further inconsistency with the bureaucratic ideal - the denial of legal powers to the principal. He has powers of compulsion over the pupils as do the teachers, but he enjoys no similar base of action in attempting to enforce the compliance of teachers. We may suspect, therefore, that principals must on occasion take recourse to the use of unofficial, that is non-legal in the Weberian sense, punishments and rewards. If so, this will only intensify the development of a traditional or charismatic form of authority and teachers, as well as pupils, may be subjected to the arbitrary actions of Kadi justice. The situation is in Weber's terms non-rational, or to use Jaques' (1976:69-86) more modern formulation, "non-requisite": principals do not have the authority that would enable them to be accountable for the performance of their teacher subordinates, for the teachers are not accountable to any standards the principal may seek to enforce through legal means.

Chapter Ten

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

> Knowledge about organizations cannot be systematised and grow by the mere accumulation of rigorously tested myopic statements; nor even by studying in an *ad hoc* manner important problems without any theoretical awareness of the conceptual framework which is used.
>
> Nicos Mouzelis

> A way of seeing is also a way of not seeing.
>
> Gianfranco Poggi

INTRODUCTION

This chapter attempts to provide a summary of the study, present the major conclusions and draw a number of implications. The first major section of the chapter is devoted to reviewing the problem, providing an overview of the methodological approach adopted, and summarizing the subsequent development of the study. Major conclusions are presented in the second section together with a number of speculative comments. The implications noted in the third section deal primarily with directions that could be explored in future empirical research and theory development concerned with the organizational nature of public schools. Some attention is also given to several implications for administrative practice.

AN OVERVIEW OF
THE STUDY

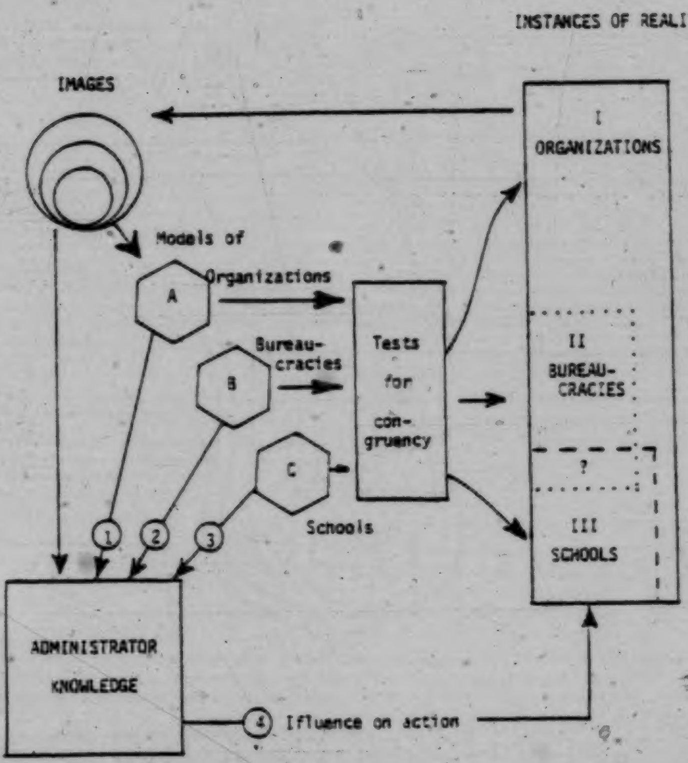
The study attempted to provide an extended discussion of the degree to which Weber's model of bureaucracy could be taken as representative of public schools. This discussion fell into three major stages: (1) the statement of the problem and the outline of the methodology adopted; (2) the development of the various models required; (3) the comparison of the models.

Problem and Methodology

The problem was stated as being:

> To critically discuss the congruency between a model of the organizational nature of public schools and Max Weber's writings on bureaucratic forms of organization.

In this statement the concept of congruency was taken from Kenneth Boulding's (1966) outline of how knowledge is produced and validated. Figure TO:1 summarizes the major stages in this process within the context of this study. Boulding's epistemology assumes that knowledge rests on the development of images of reality that are formed by participants in that reality. The validity, that is to say truth, of this knowledge is determined by establishing the degree of agreement between the image and the aspect of reality it purports to represent. Two major methods of establishing congruency are outlined by Boulding. (1) In the production of folk knowledge the validity of the image is tested through direct experience. (2) In the development of scientific knowledge clearly specified models are derived from the images and the congruency of these models to the


INSTANCES OF REALITY
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CRACIES
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C
Schools
III
SCHOOLS
1
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3
ADMINISTRATOR
KNOWLEDGE
4
Ifluence on action

Figure 10:1

OVERVIEW OF THE CONCEPTUAL BASIS FOR THE STUDY

reality is tested through a controlled process. Figure 10:1 builds on Bouldings' scientific methodology and sketches the situation addressed in this study. Schools and bureaucracies were both assumed to be members of the larger set of analytical phenomena known as organizations. Images of each of these phenomena were considered to have currency in the discipline of educational administration with several models of these images being presented in the literature, which appears to be frequently predicated on the assumption that models of organizations and bureaucracies provide insight into schools. Furthermore, the literature review offered in Chapter Two failed to identify any widely recognized models of schools *per se*. Hence, knowledge about organizations and bureaucracies acquired by educational administrators (lines 1 and 2 in Figure 10:1) would seem to provide an influence on their actions relating to schools (line 4 in Figure 10:1). This situation (which is documented more fully in Chapters One and Two of the study) helps explain the intent and significance of the problem as stated, for, if Weber's model of bureaucracy, which appears to be the most influential of such models, is not congruent with the nature of schools, then it will be an inappropriate guide to action. In relation to Figure 10:1, therefore, the focus in this study was on the agreement between Weber's model (B in the figure) and a model of schools (C in the figure). For this reason the study attempted to discuss the "conceptual congruency" between the models and no attempt was made to empirically assess the congruency between these models and the reality they represent.

Figure 10:2 summarizes the methodological situation that results from the conceptual outline given above. The two models were developed from separate images. The model of bureaucracy was constructed from the researcher's image of Weber's writings and the model of public schools from the researcher's perceptions of the literature and his own folk knowledge. These models were then compared through the use of a third independently developed model which purports to portray the nature of organizations. This model was developed from the litera-

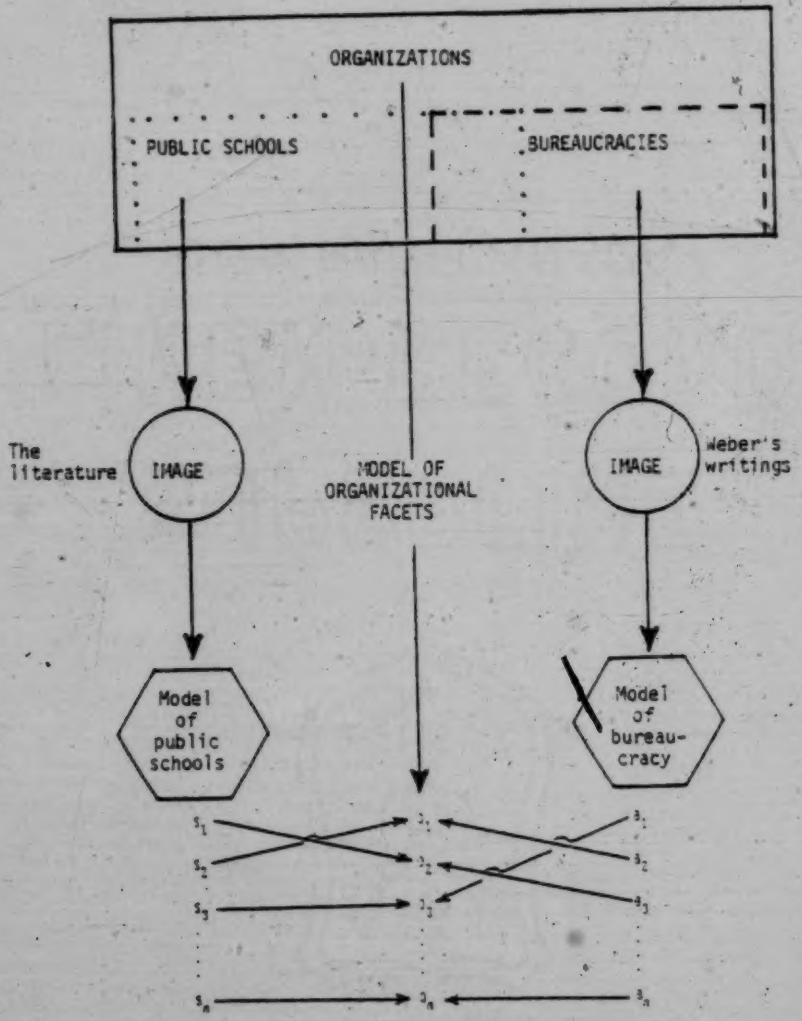
ORGANIZATIONS
PUBLIC SCHOOLS
BUREAUCRACIES
The literature
IMAGE
MODEL OF ORGANIZATIONAL FACETS
IMAGE
Weber's writings
Model of public schools
Model of bureaucracy
S_1
S_2
S_3
S_n
O_1
O_2
O_3
O_n
B_1
B_2
B_3
B_n

FIGURE 10:2

OVERVIEW OF METHODOLOGY

ture so as to provide a simple taxonomy of the characteristic facets attributed to organizations by other analysts. The taxonomy was used to classify the features of the models of bureaucracy and public schools so that these features could be discussed within the same analytical category.

The methodology outlined above and sketched in Figure 10:2 was adopted from Burns' (1967:118) discussion of comparative analysis, in which he states that the important analytical questions are "What is it like?" and "What is it not like?" The purpose of this study could be summarized as an attempt to answer the question "Are public schools like Weber's model of bureaucracy?" In essence, the methodology adopted broke this major question down into a series of sub-questions which asked "What are the environments (or other facets of organizational nature) of bureaucracies and public schools like?" and "Are these similar or disparate?" These stylized questions point to the other major ingredient in the analysis – the content of the relevant literature – for in discussing bureaucratic and public school environments, structure and technology, the nature of these, and other organizational facets, was explored by reference to appropriate models in the literature.

The Developmental Chapters

The research problem was introduced and the conceptual framework and methodology outlined in Chapter One. Major premises of the study, such as the lack of direct attention given to modelling the organizational nature of schools and the pre-eminence of Weber's model of bureaucracy, were substantiated in the literature review offered in the second chapter. This review was organized into three major sections: (1) literature considering the nature of schools; (2) literature related to models of bureaucracy; and (3) literature concerning research into schools as bureaucracies. This review served as an introduction to the first major section of the study in which the required models were developed.

Chapter Three was devoted to a consideration of the nature of organizations and culminated in the identification of the organizational attributes that were used to build the taxonomy of organizational facets. These are listed in Table 10:1.

Because the conception of 'school' was central to the study, two chapters were given over to an explanation of this kind of organization. Chapter Four concentrated on developing a generalized model of schools from a number of descriptive and analytical accounts in the anthropological, historical and sociological literature. Chapter Five began by attempting to outline the features that serve to differentiate public schools from other particular cases of the generic type. Three differentiating characteristics were recognized: (1) public schools are established and operated by sovereign or semi-sovereign states rather than special interest or status groups; (2) they enrol all non-exempted, non-adult and non-infant persons resident within the state; and (3) these pupils attend at no direct cost to themselves or their households. The balance of this chapter outlined a number of ideally typical features of public schools and then classified these according to the taxonomy of organizational facets as summarized in Table 10:1.

TABLE 10:1

SUMMARY OF THE MAJOR ASPECTS OF THE ORGANIZATIONAL NATURE OF THE IDEAL-TYPE PUBLIC SCHOOL

Facet	Comment
ENVIRONMENT	The three major sectors of note are the task environment represented by the state wide schooling structure, the general social environment and the local school environment.
FORMAL ESTABLISHMENT	By act of the local authority according to the principle of geographic entitlement.
GOALS	Enrolment, attendance and coverage of the formal curriculum.
STRUCTURE	Classes and teachers provide a cellular structure within a "flat" administrative hierarchy.
AUTHORITY	Main bases are tradition, knowledge, parental and social support and law.
TECHNOLOGY	"Batch" in classrooms, "process" in school workflow.
PRODUCTS	Certificated graduates and non-certificated drop-outs.

Chapter Six concentrated on attempting to reconstruct Weber's ideal-type model of bureaucracy. In order to aid comprehension the first section of this chapter considered relevant aspects of Weber's approach to sociological and organizational study with particular attention being paid to his concepts of systems of order, Betriebsverbände and authority. The first of these refers to the normative elements or "rules" used to guide and evaluate action in social settings, the second to a type of compound organization embodying governance, administrative and worker sub-systems, and the third to the legitimate issuance of orders.

The model of bureaucracy itself was developed in the second section of this chapter with attention being given to the nature of bureaucratic, that is rationally legal, systems of order, the characteristics of bureaucratic officials, and the structure and morphology of bureaucracies. In the latter case, attention was drawn to Weber's delimitation of his model to the administrative staff of a Betriebsverband.

The Analysis Chapters

Each of the three analysis chapters attempted to deal with certain of the facets of organizational nature as outlined in the taxonomy. Chapter Seven concentrated on the degree of congruency between the environments of bureaucracies and public schools, and some attention was also given to goals, products and formal establishment. Congruency between bureaucratic and public school structure and technology was considered in Chapter Eight, with the nature of authority forming the major focus in Chapter Nine.

CONCLUSIONS

Major Conclusions

In direct reference to the research problem addressed, the main conclusion is that there would not appear to be a high degree of congruency between Weber's model of bureaucracy and the model of public schools employed in this study. Three qualifications to this statement are required. (1) This conclusion is based on the facet-by-facet analysis of the models summarized in the subsequently discussed Table 10:2, and rests upon indications of dissonance or incongruity on

a number of key facets and on an overall image of dissonance that emerged as the analysis proceeded. Furthermore, the lack of congruency between the models recognized here is based on a conceptual analysis of ideal-type models and does not deny congruency between Weber's model and actual public schools. However, the conclusion does imply that public schools that are highly similar to the image of bureaucracy developed in this study will not be empirically common. (2) The conclusion stated above refers directly to public schools, and it is considered that public schooling systems (regional level of organization) and structures (state-wide level of organization) are, in an ideally typical sense, much more congruent to Weber's model.
(3) Finally, it must be noted that the conclusion stated here is by no means novel, for public schools are often presented in the literature as being unlike Weber's model of bureaucracy. However, the conclusion reached here is based on arguments not normally considered in the literature. Furthermore, some of the points developed in the course of this study could be used to challenge the conventional grounds for considering schools as non-bureaucratic organizations. A case in point is the presumed incompatability between professional and bureaucratic norms. Several of the arguments developed in Chapters Eight and Nine suggest that officials in Weber's ideal-type bureaucracy would appear to be more akin to professional employees than is usually recognized in the literature. However, teachers in public schools would appear to be engaged in applying a complex craft that rests heavily on experiential rather than intellectually analyzable knowledge, and thus teaching would seem to be neither a bureaucratic

nor a professional activity. Further points of similar import are outlined in the following section.

Detailed Conclusions

Table 10:2 summarizes the conclusions reached in the detailed discussions of congruency between the models. Major points discussed in the analysis chapters are summarized under the appropriate headings with the conclusions reached listed in the right hand column.

Environments. The institutional, economic, political and social environments associated with public schools and Weber's model of bureaucracy would appear to be highly similar. Major points of agreement are the existence of bodies of calculable law that constrain the actions of individuals and organizations in a state, an economic system predicated on the pursuit of profit, the presence of authoritative bodies of the collegial and elected type and the presence of values akin to those embodied in the Protestant ethic. However, the nature of bureaucratic environments is not discussed extensively by Weber in the presentation of his model of bureaucracy and the features summarized here and discussed in Chapter Eight were taken from Weber's broader writings. Nonetheless, Weber does develop a constant and coherent thesis in his consideration of modern societies and the characteristics noted here seem consistent with his thoughts on this matter.

Establishment, goals and products. Little attention was given to these facets of organizational nature as it would appear that the manner in which these are defined in public schools and bureaucracies is highly congruent. This statement applies, however, to major elements such as the goal of universal schooling or the legislated procedures to

Table 10:2

SUMMARY OF FACET ANALYSIS

Facet	Manifest in public schools as -	Manifest in bureaucracies as -	Degree of agreement
1. ENVIRONMENT	a: Schooling systems and structures b: Potentially turbulent second level task environment c: Broader society d: Communities and households	a: Dependable, calculable law b: 'Modern' capitalism c: Democratic franchise d: Mutated Protestant ethic	Would appear highly congruent in all sectors and especially so in Western states
2. FORMAL ESTABLISHMENT	a: By act of local or central authorities under conditions enacted by legislative power	a: By the governance sub-system	Congruent
3. GOALS	a: Enrolment of specified age cohort b: Coverage of curriculum	a: As specified by the governance sub-system	Congruent
4. STRUCTURE	a: 'Cellular' organization of labour with possible matrix elements b: Flat and relatively undifferentiated management hierarchy	a: Intellectually rational division of tasks and responsibilities on the basis of specialist training b: Clearly differentiated positions of authority	Dissonant

Table 10:2 (Continued)

Facet	Manifest in public schools as -	Manifest in bureaucracies as -	Degree of agreement
5. AUTHORITY	a: Externally derived rational-legal and traditional-legal powers for teachers and principal b: High probability for traditional and/or charismatic internal authority bases	a: Impersonal exercise and application of legal authority according to intellectually rational principles	Dissonant with a potential for incongruence, except for authority exercised by bodies in the first level task environment
6. TECHNOLOGY	a: Intensive-small- batch craft-like technology in classrooms b: Long-linked process type technology in the routing of pupils through the school. This technology can be regarded as an extension of the management technology of the system and structure levels	a: Solving of problems and the application of technical rules through intellectual analysis b: Creation, communication, storage and consultation of literary knowledge	Dissonant at classroom level and congruent at management level
7. PRODUCTS	a: Certificated graduates and non-certificated school leavers	a: As specified by the governance sub-system	Congruent

be used in establishing new schools. In these and similar cases the major decisions and requirements are taken by the superordinate authority, and it is this characteristic division of power that constitutes the basic point of congruency. It is clear, however, that the detailed content of school, classroom or even regional goal statements will not be specified by central authorities and that the actual content of the curriculum will be empirically variable. These points are not considered incongruent to Weber's model as the bases on, and the parameters within, which such decisions are taken are established and legitimated by the legislative authority or its ministry, and thus congruency to Weber's model obtains.

Structure. Weber is less specific with regard to the characteristic structure of bureaucracies than is sometimes supposed in the literature. He does not, for example, specify the presence of a "tall" hierarchy of authority nor does he discuss the problem of spans of control. However he does specify that divisions of labour and authority will be determined in an intellectually rational manner on the basis of delimited spheres of competence (offices) within which the appointed officials enjoy reasonable autonomy to apply their technical training. The division of teaching responsibilities in public schools would seem partially congruent to Weber's model but considerable scope for dissonance would appear to exist. This is particularly so if the time-span of teaching assignments is considered as the most relevant organizational principle for the characteristic manner in which teachers may be assigned and reassigned to groups of students from term to term or year to year suggests that elements of the matrix type of organization are present in public schools. Furthermore, teachers would appear to be employed as teachers rather than as specialists in a particular sector of the curriculum, although there are obviously empirical instances where the opposite situation obtains. Nevertheless, the major 'offices' in the structure of public schools would appear to be 'teacher' and 'administrator' and this gives rise to relatively undifferentiated and possibly unspecialized divisions of labour and responsibility.

On the other hand, the teachers (and administrators) evidence many of the characteristics attributed by Weber to bureaucratic officials: they are employed under contract, remunerated by salaries paid in money, enjoy rights to a pension and they must have received specialist training as teachers (or administrators).

In the final analysis, however, the structure of public schools seems dissonant to that of bureaucracies and this is particularly so in contrast with the structure evident in schooling systems and state wide structures which appear much more congruent to Weber's model.

Authority. Differentiation between the state wide, system, school and classroom levels also emerged as being of importance in the discussion of authority presented in Chapter Nine. The superordinate levels would appear to evidence a high reliance on the application of intellectually rational rules, standards, criteria and norms of many kinds, and this is specifically a bureaucratic feature. At the classroom level, however, elements of tradition and personal qualities would seem to be more important than conformity to, and the impersonal application of, technical norms and rationally derived rules. The nature of authority within the school itself appeared less clear. The existence of mutually agreed standards and norms which could be administered by the principal in cooperation with the staff would provide a firm basis for intellectually rational authority. However, the presence of such internally agreed systems of order could not be determined within the ideal-type frame of reference and must be considered as an empirical variable. Furthermore, the existence of a legal base on which enforcement of such rules could rest was recognized as problematical. In the absence of an internally agreed system of order, then it was considered that traditional, charismatic or personally legitimated types of authority could all be of importance in public schools. This is not congruent to the Weberian model.

Technology. This is another aspect of organizations on which Weber is relatively uninformative. He observes that decision-making and record keeping will be important tasks, and the application of technical knowledge would seem characteristic of the work process in bureaucracies. These elements are present in public schools, but seem to be primarily associated with the long-linked process type of technology that is associated with the progression of pupils through the curriculum and the administration of school systems and state wide structures. A completely different type of technology would seem characteristic of classroom teaching. Strong parallels between classroom teaching and the small-batch type of technology identified by Joan Woodward were noted in Chapter Eight and it was concluded that this way of doing work is non-bureaucratic.

Summary

The image that emerges from this condensed overview of the analysis given in the preceding chapters is one in which congruency to the bureaucratic model decreases along the structural continuum from state wide schooling structures to classrooms. Aspects of organizational nature which are directly controlled by the superordinate authorities such as the overall goals, formal establishment and definition of product seem congruent to Weber's model, as does the broad political, economic and social matrix within which these policy decisions are taken. In relation to the key facets of structure, technology and authority, a more complex situation would appear to obtain in which some bureaucratic elements are evident in public schools, but others are absent.

Other Findings

A major finding of the study was that the model of organizational nature used to guide the analysis was deficient in that two features accorded significance by Weber were not included in the list of organizational facets. As this taxonomy was developed directly from the contemporary literature of organizational studies, this suggests that this literature may also pay insufficient attention to these features, which are, systems of order and organizational morphology.

Systems of order. This term refers to the bodies of normative statements that are used to guide and evaluate the actions of members in an organization. In contemporary parlance the concepts of rules and regulations could be taken as synonynous, but this would be an oversimplification within Weber's frame of reference. This is so for Weber includes norms, values, technical criteria and various kinds of beliefs in his consideration of systems of order. All of these constitute normative elements of various collective guides to action which may be legitimated and accorded importance in various ways.

Systems of order are of importance in Weber's approach to organizational analysis in that it is impossible to discuss his conceptions of authority without reference to the sets of normative standards that justify and regulate situations in which organizational members give and comply to orders of various kinds. From this perspective it would seem that 'rules' have not been given sufficient attention in organizational analysis. An illustration of this can be taken from the various forms of dimensional research into the bureaucratic nature of schools surveyed in Chapter Two. It is not uncommon for the instruments used in these studies to rely on the mere presence of 'rules' as an indication of bureaucratization. But for Weber, and perhaps in any realistic discussion of authority, the existence of rules may be taken for granted. What is important is how these rules are established, observed and applied within any given organizational context. Furthermore, Weber's broadly based approach would include goal statements, specifications for the completion of given tasks, performance contracts, pay scales and many other guides to decision and action within the concept of systems of order. This would lead to a more inclusive approach to the concept of authority which could be valuable in organizational studies.

Morphology. Weber's model of bureaucracy is concerned solely with the nature of the administrative staff in Betriebsverbände, that is, complex organizations which contain governance, administrative and 'worker' sub-systems. Not all organizations display this type of morphology; public schools, for instance, do not include a governance sub-system, although public schooling *systems* do. Two implications stem from this. (1) More attention could well be paid to the analysis of the sub-system structure of organizations and the overall 'shape' or morphology this gives to the organization. (2) This may lead to the reclassification of some apparently autonomous organizations as integrated sub-systems within a compound and complex organization.

Both of these points are relevant to the problem pursued in this study. The research problem was phrased to investigate the organizational nature of public schools, and a major assumption was made that public schools are organizations. However it became necessary in the course of the analysis to treat schools as essentially sub-systems of regional or state wide schooling systems. It was also assumed that the teachers in these schools formed part of the administrative staff of a Betriebsverband and it was on this basis that the analysis proceeded At this point there would seem to be strong arguments for questioning the validity of this last assumption, chief among which are the type of technology practiced by teachers, the cellular structure of schools which tends to isolate teachers from the management hierarchy and the potential lack of teacher allegiance to the bureaucratic systems of order that prevail in the superordinate levels of schooling structures. If, on the basis of arguments such as these, teachers are reclassified as members of the worker sub-system rather than the administrative staff, the apparent incongruities between the bureaucratic model and public schools can be explained on the basis that Weber's model was never intended to apply to the productive sub-systems of organizations. The major problem associated with this view is that teachers would appear to evidence many of the characteristics of bureaucratic officials. However, these features, such as engagement by contract, salaries paid in money and rights to a pension are all specified and guaranteed in agreements with the local or central authorities, and have little relevance at the school level.

The foregoing discussion suggests that the major conclusion could be restated as follows: public schools themselves are not at all congruent with Weber's model of bureaucracy for this model has no direct reference to productive sub-systems in complex organizations. The important corollaries of this conclusion would appear to be that: (1) Weber's model of bureaucracy would appear to be congruent to the administrative sub-systems of regional school systems and state wide schooling structures; (2) the public school itself does not represent a significant level of analysis. This last statement is predicated on an assumption that schools can be regarded as aggregates of classrooms. Thus, the most significant levels for organizational analysis would appear to be (1) the state wide schooling structure; (2) the regional school system; and (3) the classrooms in which the productive process of these systems is located.

Emergent Conclusions

Several conclusions emerged during the course of the study.

Traditional versus bureaucratic organizations. Weber's model of bureaucracy is only one of three ideal-type models of organizations developed in his writings. Several features of public schools discussed in this study, and a number of findings stemming from the empirical research into schools, suggest that public schools may be more congruent to Weber's traditional, rather than bureaucratic, type of organization. These features include the apparent importance of experience in teaching, the possible reliance on precedent in the legitimation of authority and the lack of clearly defined spheres of competence and authority within the school.

Debureaucratization or prebureaucratization. Bidwell's (1965) classic analysis of the organizational nature of schools suggested that there were a number of debureaucratizing forces that militated against the congruency of the bureaucratic model. This implies that administrators may attempt to bureaucratize their schools, only to witness subsequent debureaucratization over time. An alternative view could be that public schools are inherently traditional forms of organization, that is, they may be better characterized as being prebureaucratic. This distinction may be more than academic, for prebureaucratization implies that public schools may become more congruent to Weber's model with the passage of time. This could occur, for instance, if the teachers become more akin to bureaucratic officials. The development of differentiated staffing models could provide one suitable vehicle for such a development. Another bureaucratizing force could be the increasing influence of teacher associations.

The basis for this statement is the apparently bureaucratic nature of the codes of behavior and policies promulgated by these organizations. The analysis offered in Chapter Nine suggested that these systems of order could well constitute one of the more bureaucratic sources of authority influencing teacher actions. Increased influence of these associations could well lead to pressures from the teachers for increased rationality in the internal conduct of schools. Some evidence of this would seem apparent in the conditions of work clauses being negotiated between teachers and their employing bodies. One effect of developments of this kind could be to increasingly constrain teacher and administrator actions within a much more bureaucratic system of order at the school level. In this view the future bureaucratization of schools would not necessarily result from the actions of school boards, ministries and legislatures, but from the demands of teachers themselves.

Summary

This section has attempted to summarize the major findings of the study. It was concluded that public schools do not evidence congruency to Weber's model of bureaucracy, and, indeed, that this model may not be appropriate in the analysis of public schools *per se*. A related conclusion is that Weber's model of traditional organizations may provide a more suitable analytical frame than does his bureaucratic model.

IMPLICATIONS ARISING FROM THE STUDY

Implications for the Improved Administration of Public Schools

This study would appear to suggest a number of practical implications for school and system level administrators.

The two cultures. The differences noted between (1) the craft-like technology employed by teachers and the more bureaucratic process technology of system wide management, (2) the apparently traditionally based systems of order legitimated in schools and the intellectually rational and formally legislated rules in the externally imposed system of order and (3) the cellular, potentially matrix, type of structure identified in schools and the more bureaucratic spheres of management competence at the regional and state wide organizational levels suggest that two contrasting cultures can be identified. School level administrators would appear to deal with tasks and discharge responsibilities that relate to both of these cultures, while their organizational superordinates are embedded in the more bureaucratic culture and the teachers in the more traditional sphere of action. This situation poses serious problems of identity and allegiance which have implications for administrative effectiveness. Should the principal identify with the system level culture he may well forfeit any effective basis for intervention in the classrooms. On the other hand, should he attempt to retain or develop traditional or charismatic bases of authority he could lose credibility with his organizational superiors, or become handicapped in the administration of the externally imposed systems of order.

One possible solution to some of the problems that arise from this situation would be for the principal to attempt to increase the congruency of schools to Weber's bureaucratic model through the development of intellectually based systems of order in the school. This would require cooperative decision-making between the principal and the teachers as discussed in Chapter Nine. What would be important in this process is that decisions be made about such matters as school philosophy, appropriate teaching methodology and procedures for conflict resolution and that these decisions be taken in a manner that is accorded legitimacy by the participants. Weber's writings suggest that it does not matter greatly whether consensus or majority decision-making methods are utilized, but it will be crucial for all the teachers to be involved, or at least adequately represented. Furthermore, the rules and guidelines developed in this manner must be held as binding on all members, including the principal. For this reason the active support and occasional involvement of higher level administrators would seem desirable, if not essential.

Reward and punishment. The procedures outlined above would help provide an intellectually rational basis for the exercise of authority by principals, but would do little to enhance their lack of legal authority over the teachers. In Weber's scheme legality is determined in terms of whether sanctions can be applied to encourage compliance or punish disobedience. In public school systems legal authority would seem to be reserved exclusively to persons and bodies external to the public school itself. This is probably desirable if traditional or charismatic systems of order are operative in schools. If, however, an appropriate rationally determined system of order is in place in the school, it would seem desirable for principals to be accorded direct access to some limited sanctions. The form such powers could take is difficult to determine. Official letters of reprimand may be appropriate, or even the authority to temporarily suspend teachers pending a formal investigation by superior officials.

Matrix management. A final implication has a direct bearing on the practice of "twinning" schools, that is assigning a single principal to administer two or more schools. The practicality of such arrangements would seem to be well supported by aspects of the discussion presented in this study. Schools have been viewed as essentially collections of classrooms and there would seem to be no compelling technical reason why all of these need to be located in the same premises. Hence principals assigned to manage several sets of classrooms in different locations may well be advised to encourage teachers, students and parents to view each set of classrooms as part of a larger, partially disaggregated school. Adoption of this perspective could well facilitate the emergence of more flexible staffing and teaching arrangements in which the matrix elements that seem inherent in school structure could be capitalized upon to a greater degree.

Implications for Research

One of the major implications arising from this study is the importance of the conceptual basis on which empirical research into the organizational nature of schools is conducted. Two relevant points that stem from the main text of the study are (1) the manner in which schools are conceptualized, and (2) the scope and limitations of Weber's model of bureaucracy. With reference to the first of these points it would seem that the distinction made in this study between public and other schools is important and could be kept in mind, and perhaps pursued empirically, in future research. In the second case several of the features of Weber's model of bureaucracy would appear to have become distorted in subsequent reconstructions. It follows that future researchers who attempt to build on Weber's model may be well advised to rely directly on his writings rather than abbreviated, and possibly inaccurate, interpretations by others. A research exercise of immediate interest here would be a new translation of Weber's writings on organizations by a student or scholar of organizational theory.

A further implication of importance relates to the appropriate structural level for organizational research. The Moeller (1962) study of bureaucratization concentrated on the system level, although subsequent research has tended to take the school as its point of reference. The findings in this study suggest that the Moeller approach may well be more valid. Furthermore, in research relating to other organizational attributes such as, for example, technology and authority, the classroom level may be appropriate rather than the school level.

In addition to these broad implications several specific areas for future research can be identified.

(1) Depth structure. Jaques'(1976) concept of the underlying depth structure of organizations was discussed in passing in Chapter Eight. This concept has a developed methodology and application of this to schools and school systems would seem useful, especially as a large body of empirical data dealing with business and commercial organizations has already been assembled.

(2) Time span. Jaques' methodology for measuring depth structure relies on estimating the time span of the work encountered by organizational members in different positions in the structure. In this reference 'time span' means the time that elapses between beginning and concluding a major organizational task. This concept would seem to have relevance for more than just the depth structure of schools, for the cycles that determine the period over which school classes are coupled to particular teachers would seem of importance in organizational analysis. Longitudinal research projects into the impact of time span cycles on the attitudes, perceptions, motivations

and behaviors of school personnel would thus seem valuable.

(3) Technological considerations. Strong similarities between Joan Woodward's construct of small batch technology and classroom teaching were noted in this study. These would seem to require empirical validation.

(4) Systems of order. What type of rule-making process do teachers and administrators see as legitimate? Questions such as this have obvious saliency to Weber's models and attempts to answer this, and related questions, would seem most valuable.

(5) The status of teachers and pupils. The problem of whether teachers should best be regarded as members of the administrative or worker sub-system emerged as being of particular importance in this study. This problem could be partially resolved with the aid of research data. A phenomenological approach could well be valuable here. The appropriate status of pupils also needs investigation. Are they best conceptualized as organizational members, clients or 'conscripted beneficiaries'?

(6) Third generation bureaucratic research. If the early unidimensional and the latter dimensional enquiries into the bureaucratic nature of schooling systems are dubbed as first and second generation research respectively, then any new research thrust in this area would form a third phase. In the light of the analysis offered in this study, such a third generation research thrust would seem highly desirable, especially as any new data could be juxtaposed against data collected from second generation instrumentation. This would seem particularly valuable in that the second generation approach treats bureaucracy primarily as a structural concept, whereas a suitable

third generation approach could pay attention to perceptual and value patterns in public schools. In developing suitable instrumentation, it may be more valuable to base questionnaire scales on attributes of organizations in general, rather than bureaucracies as was the case in second generation research. The approach used in this study provides an example but not necessarily a model of this. A suitable instrument could probably be one which provided data such that the structure, or technology, or systems of order in a school or school system could be classified as bureaucratic, traditional, charismatic or other.

(7) Tradition and charisma. One conclusion of the study was that public schools may be more akin to Weber's model of traditional rather than bureaucratic organization. This possibility may well be explored in the context of the third generation bureaucratic research suggested above, but it may also be worthwhile to test the hypothesis directly, perhaps through the interpretation of phenomenological data or some other form of interpretative, observational research.

Implications for Theory Development

Reappraisal of Weberian bureaucracy. Comments were offered in Chapters One and Two on the characteristic manner in which Weber's model of bureaucracy is treated in the literature of educational administration. This study would seem to provide some suggestions as to how this model could be better represented in future texts and survey papers. Furthermore, the advantages of the Weberian approach to conceptualization and analysis could well be reconsidered in future appraisals of organizational and administrative theory. A major conceptual stumbling block in any such reconsideration is the term bureaucracy itself. Despite attempts to present this as a value-free construct in the literature, many of the deleterious aspects of the pejorative image adhere to the term and this serves to detract from the acceptance of Weber's model, and by implication, his broader approach. Hence, some attention could be given to the development of a new and more value free term to denote organizations developed and operated on principles of calculable rationality.

Model development. Attention could also be devoted to developing more detailed models of the type of organization referred to by Weber as bureaucracy. The empirical work by the Aston group could prove valuable in such endeavours as could the conceptual contributions of Jaques in his *A General Theory of Bureaucracy*. Theory development along these lines could also attempt to integrate features of public schooling systems and structures as more detailed bureaucratic models emerge. Perhaps one of the problems in educational administration in the past has been that of attempting to force the reality of educational organizations into conceptual boxes originally developed to hold other types of organizations.

Paradigm development. Any move towards a new paradigm in the discipline will, by definition, require the adoption of new assumptions, perspectives and research techniques. A final implication of this exploratory study is that none of the major paradigmatic alternatives presently identified in the on-going debate would appear to be particularly suitable for the conceptualization or investigation of public schooling systems. The compulsory schooling of entire child populations is inherently a massive endeavour, the comprehension of which demands the use of large-scale data collection and analysis. On the other hand, the productive sub-systems of classroom and school may be much more amenable to the insightful subjective analysis that is characteristic of the phenomenological approach. Hence the Doctrine of the Single Paradigm (Merton, 1975:43-5) may be untenable in the theoretical and empirical realms of educational administration. The debate over what may constitute appropriate theory and methodology may thus be specious unless explicit attention is accorded to the various levels of study that are available and the manner in which these inter-penetrate each other.

Summary

Whatever paradigms may rule in the future study of educational administration, it would seem possible that more direct attention will be paid to the nature of schools and public schooling systems. This section, and the study itself, has suggested a number of theoretical approaches that may have utility in the development of this emphasis. However, this study has been restricted to a discussion of only one of the presently available frames of organizational reference and although an attempt has been made to relate the analysis to relevant concepts in the broader literature, considerable scope exists for further conceptual analysis based on other organizational models. As illustrated by this study, the value of further explorations of this kind may lie not in the major conclusions reached but in the substance of the analysis. The development of valid knowledge rests not only in the pursuit of new horizons but in the careful reappraisal and application of that which is presently available.

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APPENDIX 1

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